The Representation of the American Indian in the *Comedia*

PhD thesis

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Abstract of Thesis

There exist less than thirty known *comedias* treating Spain's engagement with the New World. With access to the entire corpus, I analyse the genesis of the representative stereotype of the Indian, and trace its transposition from festival pageantry and allegorical iconography to the stage of the *comedia.* I relate scenes from the plays to works of triumphalist sculpture and the semiology of modern staged spectacle, and compare the sexual metaphor of the iconography of the First Encounter, with a similar *tableau* from the corpus. I then analyse the emblematic representation of female Indians in the corpus, and their role in securing the inscription of Spanish male "hegemony" and "closure".

There follows a discussion of the role of the Devil in the deception of the Indians. I consider several plays in the light of research on the origins of ethnology, and discuss the extent to which the depiction of the Indians on stage can be ascribed to their idolatry and its rituals. I then analyse the plays' demonisation of native orality. The "performance" of the politico-religious *Requerimiento*, both in history and on the stage, is measured in literary terms against the "fetishisation" of Western writing in the Conquest, followed by an assessment of the interrogation of these issues by Lope de Vega according to the notion of his manipulation of rhetorical "politeness".

Finally, I contrast the function of scenes of horror and violence perpetrated by Indians, with those carried out by Spaniards. I return to the topic of staged spectacle and analyse the use of such scenes in "serious" and then "burlesque" mode, as defined

according to theories of genre within the *comedia*. I link this to "carnival humour", and apply this to the comic treatment of topics of cannibalism and mutilation involving the Indians, and ask how this informs upon their representation in the corpus as a whole.

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To Yvonne, with love.

Introduction

The subject of this thesis is the representation of native Amerindians in *comedias* of the Spanish Golden Age, a topic which has attracted the attention of commentators previously, but from a much narrower base than is attempted here. Limitations in earlier approaches stem principally from confusion regarding the extent of, and access to, an established corpus of plays dealing with the New World encounter. Doubts have also been expressed about the isolation of Hispanists and Latin Americanists from developments in colonial discourse analysis. This combination of perceived shortcomings has perhaps led to the idea that theoretical models are in short supply for a body of literature which itself is only a tiny fragment of the thousands of *comedias* that were produced. The purpose of this introductory chapter, therefore, is first of all to correct some of the misconceptions regarding the position of how Hispanism relates to other disciplines in colonial discourse analysis, and, secondly, to proceed to a definition of a corpus of "New World plays" via a survey of previous research and comment in the field. I complete this with an exploration of the *zeitgeist* surrounding the plays' composition, and establish certain theoretical premises regarding their depiction of the Spaniards, as a prelude to my approach to the representation of the Indians.

In preparing the thesis, I have not sought to create a taxonomy of the Indian stage-presence *per se* (although some form of analytical catalogue could certainly be the basis for a study). The endemic disputes regarding authorship and dating alluded to in this introduction are also avoided in subsequent chapters unless they specifically

relate to a point under discussion. Nor have I sought, except for similar reasons, to add to the considerable amount of work on sources.[1] What I have tried to do is marshall comparable instances of native representation from across the whole of the corpus for the first time, for comparative scrutiny via a series of modern critical filters.

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Writing as recently as 1995, Robert Young, while wittily pointing to the 'jewel in the crown' (1995: 166) of colonial discourse analysis (the British in India) has claimed to detect areas of neglect for Spanish:

> South America, where many states achieved independence in the early nineteenth century, would be the only most obvious example of a region where colonialism has a very different history from that of, say, India which the British left only in 1947 [...] In Britain, work on Latin America, for example tends to function rather distinctly from and in isolation from much of the rest of colonial-discourse analysis, largely because it is not an area where the English have played any great historical role, and therefore tends to remain the preserve of Latin Americanists within Departments of Hispanic Studies.
> (1995: 164-5)

This is contrived to look bleak. Young chooses to funnel his concern so narrowly here that the impression might be derived that much excellent writing in the field is somehow unavailable not only to Latin Americanists but also to peninsular Hispanists and commentators from other disciplines in this country. In reality, colonial discourse analysis which embraces Hispanism (written in both English and Spanish) has flourished worldwide since well before the quincentary of Columbus's landfall in America. The years surrounding the advent of the US bicentennial celebrations in 1976, in particular, saw the publication of a range of articles and books examining the

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[1] These would include, for example, the research of Canavaggio (1990) on *El rufián dichoso*, Corominas (1981) on *Arauco domado*, Shannon (1989) on Lope de Vega, and other research cited here.

heritage of the encounter between Old World and New, many setting their sights on events well before the Declaration of Independence in 1776. Examples among them and germane to the present study are analyses of the extensive iconography of the Indies from the European perspective (Honour 1975, Jean-Paul Duviols 1996), in particular the work of the family de Bry (Alexander 1976, Bucher 1981, Hulton 1977, Conley 1992). Collections of studies, *First Encounters: Spanish Explorations in the Caribbean* (edited by Milanich and Milbrath in 1989) and *First Images of America* (edited by Chiapelli in 1976) have been similarly useful in contextualising distortions in visual images of the natives (Milbrath 1989, Sturtevant 1976). The latter volume also has illuminating treatments across a range of historical, sociological and anthropological disciplines including early law (Benson 1976, Grisel 1976), and the impact of the Chronicles of the Indies (Gerbi 1976, Elliott 1976). In the fields of literary criticism and semiology, and in an identical spirit of comparative analysis, the last two decades have ushered in the influential post-structural study of American Otherness by Todorov, *The Conquest of America* (1984), and Hulme's compendium of essays *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean 1492-1797*, which consciously embraces a range from 'Columbus and the Cannibals' to 'Inkle and Yarico' (1992). Dille's 1997 article 'America Tamed: Lope's *Arauco domado*' appears in the suggestively entitled volume, *New Historicism and the Comedia: Poetics, Politics and Praxis* edited by José A. Madrigal. A contribution from the new historicist Shakespearean critic Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: the Wonder of the New World* (1988) is equally eclectic in addressing the appropriation of both North and Central America, as well as the Caribbean – thus avoiding the pitfall of a vision of conquest that is purely Hispanic. None of these commentators, in fact, seeks to confine his activities to mere Hispanism. An amalgam of feminist and colonial

discourse idiom is apparent in the article by Phillips (in Miller's collection: Women *in Hispanic Literature*) which analyses the Marina/Malinche construct of Mexican infamy (1983).

And the quincentary itself has, of course, produced an avalanche of literary analysis which – it is worth insisting – is fully conversant with modern critical trends in colonial discourse, feminism, and subjectivity. To illustrate this point, I quote the titles of a couple of collections and articles published in its wake. The editorial efforts of Jara and Spadaccini in *1492-1992 Re/Discovering Colonial Writing* (1989a), and *Amerindian Images and the Legacy of Columbus* (1992) feature contributions such as: Zavala's 'Representing the Colonial Subject' (1989), Carey-Webb's 'Other-Fashioning: the Discourse of Empire and Nation in Lope de Vega's *El nuevo mundo* (sic) *descubierto por Cristóbal Colón*' (1992), and Pastor's 'Silence and Writing in the History of the Conquest' (1989). Proceedings of conferences edited by Campbell (1992), and Reverte Bernal and Reyes Peña (1998), as well as special numbers of journals have also provided specific platforms for a wide-range of literary and non-literary analyses of the colonial discourse with Latin America - as represented by *Revista Iberoamericana* in 1995, which published *Literatura colonial: sujeto colonial y discurso barroco* featuring articles by Fonseca on anthropophagy, Castillo Sandoval on the epic poetry of the New World, and an essay by Mignolo under the title of 'Occidentalización, imperialismo, globalización: herencias coloniales y teorías postcoloniales'. Indeed, the facility with which the topic relates to inter-disciplinary approaches is testified by a *Renaissance Studies* special issue of 1992 featuring Luzzana Caraci on Columbus's geography, Fernández Armesto on the historicity of Aztec auguries, Reinhard's historical study of the sixteenth-century New World missions, and Dixon's literary analysis of Lope's play *Arauco domado*.

Nor should it be overlooked that, quite apart from the opportunities afforded by the advent of anniversary celebrations, overt attempts have been made to rescue Hispanism *per se* from its perceived archaism, the benefits of which have now been apparent for some time. Paul Julian Smith's trilogy *Writing in the Margin* (1988), *The Body Hispanic* (1989), and *Representing the Other* (1992) constitute a flat declaration of intent in this regard, providing important chapters on Golden Age drama, poetry and prose, and conceived as a sophisticated counterpart to developments in literary criticism in other languages (notably French). Meanwhile, McKendrick's *Woman and Society in the Spanish Drama of the Golden age: a Study of the Mujer Varonil* (1974), has become a touchstone for feminist literary analysis of the genre, initiating awareness of strong female characters in little-known plays. This has now been joined by her *Playing the King: Lope de Vega and the Limits of Conformity* (2000), a brilliant deconstruction of the playwright's manipulation of the rhetoric of "politeness" through the filter of applied linguistics.

In total, the possibilities offered by an inter-disciplinary approach, allied to developments in research into comparative literature embracing Hispanic themes, are now considerable. Nowhere is this more apparent than in McClintock's *Imperial Leather* (1995), an exposé of white angst which encompasses Columbus and Rider Haggard, Vespucci and Swift, as the commonalty of imperial fear and desire is traced first within the Spanish, then the British, imperial contexts. Historians, anthropologists and sociologists have also made contributions of the highest quality to colonial discourse analysis. Stannard's account of the continental genocides, *American Holocaust* (1992), lays open the role of religion, law, literature, iconography, and embryonic race-theory in the devastation of the indigenous populations of South America and then (more deliberately) the United States.

Subirats's aggressive *El continente vacío* (1994) questions the very notion of "celebration" of the quincentenary by the juxtaposition of modern colonial incursions and the traditional Western propaganda medium of chronicles and letters. And Grafton's *New Worlds, Ancient Texts* (1992) is a treatise on the refraction of transatlantic writings by medieval tradition. Also crucial to establishing the extent of the metropolitan (mis)conception of the native has been the research of Lienhard in *La voz y su huella* (1992), which has exploded the myth of an indigenous American society "sin escritura", thus exposing the fetish for writing which characterises the Conquest.[2]

Elsewhere, one can only admire the ease with which a historian such as Thomas moves effortlessly between the above disciplines in his magisterial *The Conquest of Mexico* (which manages at the same time to read as a psycho-linguistic thriller). Hispanists are even more indebted to Elliott, not only for the breadth of his output regarding imperial Spain, but also his cogency regarding the illusory nature of documented reality as profferred in chronicles and letters from the New World. His essay 'El mundo mental de Hernán Cortés' (1990), for example, is a historical-legal-literary-semantic-political *tour de force* in this respect.[3] A further, indispensable contribution has been that of Pagden in marshalling the plethora of juridical and theological disputation regarding the status of the Indians in *La caída del hombre natural: El indio americano y los orígenes de la etnología comparativa* (1988).[4] As will become apparent in the chapters that follow, I am as much indebted to Pagden as

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[2] I am grateful to Dr. Patricia D'Allemand of Queen Mary, for drawing my attention to this book at a crucial point in my research, and for much other encouragement and advice.

[3] Originally entitled 'The Mental World of Hernán Cortés', all references to Professor Elliott's 1989 book, *Spain and its World 1500-1700: Selected Essays* (from which this essay comes) are taken from the Spanish edition of 1990, *España y su mundo (1500-1700)*. Unlike the original English edition, it contains quotations from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century writers in the original Spanish, which I have been anxious to retain, given the number of references I make to it.

[4] For exactly similar reasons I refer at all times to the Spanish edition of Pagden's *The Fall of Natural Man: the American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology* published in 1986.

I am to a variety of works by Elliott in establishing the historical and theoretical context within which the Indians first impacted on the Spanish psyche, prior to their representation on the stage. Equally valuable recent interpretative research includes Bitterli's *Cultures in Conflict* (1989).[5]

Among discussions from a previous era, the writings of Barthes, while no longer new, are still persuasively contemporary, and can illuminate discussion beyond the French or post-war U.S. cultures he addresses. This is equally true of the Russian critic Bakhtin, whose intriguing references to Spanish literature in the 1960s arrived as something of a by-product of his celebrated study of medieval "carnival humour", entitled in English *Rabelais and his World* (1968). Again in the historical field, the classic contribution of Hanke, *The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of the New World* (published in various formats between 1944 and 1965) remains immensely informative, as do other titles such as Vázquez's *La imagen del indio en el español del siglo XVI* (1962),[6] Phelan's *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World* (1970), Gibson's compilation of the texts which constitute *The Black Legend* (1971), Bataillon's work on Las Casas (1971) and Jennings' *The Invasion of America* (1975). All these share with contemporary historians the desire to juxtapose the actual events of the colonisation of the New World with the chronicles, questionnaires, and tracts which sought variously to catalogue, justify, or excoriate the Spanish experience. The interpretation supplied by historians of the raw data contained in the transatlantic writings: the chroniclers' oscillation between optimism and despair; their omissions, prejudices, distortions, fantasies and lies – that is, the discourse of colonialism in its most elemental form – is fundamental to this study.

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[5] See also Cerrón Puga (1991) on Pedro Mártir de Anglería.

[6] My thanks are due to Professor J. H. Elliott for pointing out the existence of this book in a letter, as I began my research.

With this primary material as a point of departure, I seek to chart the rise of a second wave, as it were, of written engagement with the alien new – this time on a creative level which is self-acknowledged in the *comedia* – rather than implicit in the creative non-fiction of the chronicles. In addressing this, I am persuaded that there now exists a substantial body of up-to-date criticism across a range of issues which touches upon the discursive and creative writings of the Discovery, the Conquest, and the Golden Age of Spanish literature.

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The definition of a body of New World plays has in the past proved to be rather elusive, and until very recently the task has been characterised by a marked underestimate regarding its constituent numbers. Just how many such plays are there? Does discussion centre only on those plays in which Indians actually take the stage? If so, this omits certain works which are set in the New World but which feature only European characters (such as *Más la amistad que la sangre* by Andrés de Baeza). Conversely, *La sentencia sin firma* (by Gaspar de Ávila) is set in the Peninsula with transported natives. The native-status of personifications or allegorical figures has also been addressed (Jara/Spadaccini 1989b, Kirschner 1989, Simson 1998, Zugasti, 1998).[7] These are figures such as Lope de Vega's El Brasil, who intervenes in *El Brasil restituido* 'en figura de dama yndia, con vna rueda de plumas y vna flecha dorada como dardo' (1929: 26) and whose role has a crucial bearing on the representation of female Indians (in particular) within the plays .

Commentators in the field have generally worked from a unsatisfactorily low number of texts; a typical such discussion may be found in observations by Tyler,

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[7] Dr. Ingrid Simson of the University of Berlin was kind enough to supply me with a copy of her article.

who mentions only thirteen (1978: 77-87), and even more recently Rose speaks of the 'más o menos docena que existen' (1998: 471). This scarcity has been ascribed by Lerzundi to critics' disparate objectives when addressing the topic of the New World dramas:

> Aguilera y Pedro se preocupan del tema en sí y sus repercusión en los escritores de la época. Dellepiane estudia las obras de tema americano de Tirso de Molina. Franco centra su interés en Lope de Vega de la misma manera que Miró Quesada y Morínigo. Méndez Bejarano trata el tema de los escritores que vivieron en América.
>
> (1996: 5)[8]

The same voluntary restriction is applied by others such as Shannon (1989) on Lope's sources, or Lerzundi himself, Antonucci (1992) and Díaz Balsera (1993) on representations of Chile in the theatre. Laferl, on the other hand, recognises the problem of definition and even suggests that the numbers for inclusion in the corpus could rise to fifty (1992: 173). He unfortunately gives no detail in support of this, and, as with other commentators, chooses to work from only a handful of plays.

All of which has combined to give a fragmented picture of what is an already small sub-genre, with each commentator focussing on the pieces which best inform on the issue in question.[9] In his anthology of New World drama, the most prolific scholar in the field, Ruiz Ramón, specifies the Discovery and Conquest as sole criteria for inclusion and has thus felt able to declare that 'apenas si pasan de la docena los textos que abordan directamente en una acción completa el tema americano del descubrimiento y conquista del Nuevo Mundo' (1993: 14). Certainly, his version of the corpus makes for sparse reading:

> El más antiguo texto conocido es el de la Escena 19 del *Auto de las cortes de la Muerte* (1557), de Michael de Carvajal [...] con la colaboración

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[8] Lerzundi is referrring to Aguilera (1952); Pedro (1954); Dellepiane (1968); Franco (1936); Miró Quesada (1935); Méndez Bejarano (1929).

[9] See also for example: Fernández-Shaw (1963), Gilman (1973) and Weiner (1983) on Lope's New World plays; Flint (1961), De Armas (1991) from an equally restricted base (on Columbus and Lope/Claramonte respectively); or De Paco (1993) on Claramonte and Ávila.

de Luis Hurtado de Toledo. De los autores mayores del XVII sólo tenemos media docena de textos: dos de Lope de Vega, (*El Nuevo Mundo descubierto por Cristóbal Colon* y *Arauco domado*); tres de Tirso de Molina dedicados a los Pizarro (*Todo es dar en una cosa*, *Amazonas en las Indias*, *La lealtad contra la envidia*); de Calderón sólo hay una, *La aurora en Copacabana*. A Vélez de Guevara y a Ruiz de Alarcón se les atribuyen sendos textos *Las glorias de los Pizarro* (sic) *o palabras de los reyes* y *Las hazañas del Marqués de Cañete*, ambos perdidos [...] De entre los dramaturgos de menor categoría nos quedan los textos siguientes: *El valeroso español y primero de su casa*, *Hernán Cortés* y *El gobernador prudente*, ambos de Gaspar de Ávila [...] *La conquista de México*, de Fernándo de Zárate; *La bellígera española*, de Ricardo de Turia; *Los españoles en Chile*, de Francisco González de Bustos; *El nuevo rey Gallinato*, de Andrés de Claramonte, y, por último, la obra colectiva escrita por Luis Belmonte Bermúdez y ochos ingenios más (entre ellos Ruiz de Alarcón, Mira de Amescua y Guillén de Cástro), titulada *Algunas hazañas de las muchas de Don García Hurtado de Mendoza, marqués de Cañete.*

(1993: 14-15)

As Lerzundi remarks (1996: 6-7), students in the field who require a wider overview of the topic have been obliged to refer back to José Toribio Medina's pioneering work of 1917 in the prologue to *Dos comedias famosas y un auto sacramental* (which he re-lists) for some idea of the number of New World pieces which are thought to survive.[10] This makes Ruiz Ramón's list appear to be heavily abbreviated, if it is to be assumed that he is drawing on the initial attempt at a defined corpus made by Medina, whose study he also cites (1993: 14). Quite appropriately, in only considering the Golden Age, Ruiz Ramón excludes Medina's eighteenth-century pieces, but by concentrating on the Discovery and the Conquest, he eliminates several valuable texts set in America which do appear in Medina's list. Apart from the *auto La Araucana* (attributed to Lope de Vega), Medina had in 1917 mentioned a number of other plays that also treat these themes. The first of these is *El Marqués del Valle* or (*La*) *Conquista de Cortés* by Lope de Vega, possibly the same piece and thought by him to be lost. Celebrating other heroes are: *El español entre todas las naciones y*

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[10] I am most grateful to Szilvia Szmuk of the library of St. John's University, New York, and to Professor Victor Dixon for their help in tracking down an edition of Medina's work, which appears to have a copyright date of 1915 and a publication date of 1917 (according to a letter from Szilvia Szmuk).

clérigo agradecido, by Alonso Remón;[11] *La monja alférez*, (attributed by Medina to Juan Pérez de Montalbán)[12]; and *Los hechos de Juan Gómez* (anonymous and also presumed lost). In a further sub-group of hagiographies Medina also lists *El rufián dichoso* by Cervantes as well as four titles relating to the same saint; *Vida y muerte de San Luis Bertrán* by Gaspar de Aguilar; *San Luis Bertrán* by Jacinto Alonso de Maluenda; *San Luis Bertrán* by Agustín Moreto; and *San Luis Bertrán, o la batalla de los dos* by Francisco de la Torre y Sevil. Two further plays are monuments to Spain's recapture of Bahía from the Dutch in 1629: the aforementioned *El Brasil restituido* by Lope de Vega, and *Pérdida y restauración de la Bahía de Todos Santos* by Juan Antonio Correa.

The scope of Ruiz Ramón's anthology, entitled *América en el teatro clásico español* (with an introduction including his archival data), is therefore somewhat compromised by the voluntary omission of such a large amount of material, as well as by the erroneous assumption that an available text (Vélez's effort on the Pizarros) is still lost.[13] There is also the inference that the first part of the Tirsian trilogy, *Todo es dar en una cosa*, deals directly with the Conquest when it is set entirely in Spain and only foreshadowed briefly at the end of act III. As will become evident, many of the plays Ruiz Ramón ignores in the original Medina list have a significant native presence, and his marginalisation of the role of the saints in the colonisation of the Indies as in some way separate from the process of Conquest is, of course, arguable.[14]

The narrowing of the corpus in this way also tends to reinforce an impression that the New World was almost taboo as a subject for the *comediantes*. What

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[11] For details of the series which includes the work by Remón, see Valladares Reguero (1991).
[12] On *La monja alférez*, see Taddeo (1993).
[13] De Armas also makes this mistake (1991: 7-8).
[14] See, for example, the article by Castells, 'Religión and colonización en *Santa Rosa de Perú*' (1998). I am grateful to Dr. Luis González, formerly of Queen Mary, for drawing my attention to this article, and for much other bibliographical assistance and advice.

Morínigo called 'el silencio de las poetas' (1946: 18) is only accurate in relative terms: Medina's list shows that most front-rank playwrights, as well as the three greats, did turn their hands to the topic at some stage. And although New World plays remain only a fragment of the phenomenon of the *comedia*, they are a more substantial fragment than has often been supposed. The plays may not have been popular, that much is clear, but the poets were not silent.

Fortunately, Zugasti's article, *Notas para un repertorio de comedias indianas del siglo de oro* (1996a) has placed studies in the field on a much more secure footing.[15] Working from, and adding to, the Medina corpus, he has succeeded in clearing up doubts, and locating the whereabouts of the plays mentioned by him. Parts I and II of the Remón effort, *El español entre todas las naciones y clérigo agradecido*, have been tracked down, along with anonymously written parts III (two different versions) and IV. The five-part series began being published in 1629 but only part I (by Remón) and part IV (anonymous) have scenes in the Indies and feature Indians on stage.[16] Confusion over the proliferation of plays about San Luis Bertrán has also been partially resolved; the *Vida y muerte del santo Fray Luis Bertrán* was written either by Gaspar de Aguilar or Agustín Moreto, and has its second act in the Indies. (This is probably the the same work as one often attributed to Jacinto Alonso Maluenda, and now thought lost, entitled *San Luis Bertrán*). And obviously the same saint and theme are the subject of *San Luis Bertrán o la batalla de los dos* by

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[15] Professor Dixon drew my attention to this crucial article early in my research. The article is somewhat handicapped, however, by the use of the term *comedia indiana*, which I feel is too general - the adjective *indiano* normally refers to those returning colonisers of the Indies eager to establish themselves as wealthy new nobility in the old country - a stock figure in many *comedias*. So for the purposes of precision within the present study, I intend to avoid Zugasti's sub-generic term, and continue with that of "New World plays". On the subject of the *indiano* in the *comedia* see, for example, Dellepiane (1968), Reichenberger (1992: 91).

[16] This series of plays play actually has two different versions of part III. Part I (acts II and III) and part IV (act III) are set in the Indies. Valladares Reguero mistakenly reports that part IV, act III of *El español* is set in India *oriental* (1996: 48) but the action of the play places it in America. Although the authorship of parts I and II is not disputed, that of both parts III and part IV have yet to be established.

Francisco de la Torre y Sevil.

El marqués del Valle is a lost play by Lope mentioned in 1629, which Fichter presumed was an alternative title for *La conquista de Cortés*, also lost (1935). Romero Muñoz has argued plausibly (1984) that it is more or less identical with the *La conquista de México* published as by "Zárate" (Enríquez Gómez) in 1668.[17]

Although the play *Los hechos de Juan Gómez* has yet to resurface, what we now have are more than two dozen items of dramatic material which refer to the New World, either by locating their action there, or by representing the natives on stage.

In organising his catalogue of the corpus Zugasti has opted for three categories: *comedias históricas*, *comedias de santos*, and *comedias de aventuras o enredo* (1996a: 432-41).[18] This allows him to cast his net wider than Ruiz Ramón and include pieces which are set in the New World but whose plot is not driven by its location - in other words, whose action might equally have been located in Europe. (The above-mentioned *Más la amistad que la sangre*, situated in Havana but with no native presence on or off stage, is such a piece).

However, for the purposes of the present study, most interest naturally attaches to those plays where the New World's natives do appear on stage, whether in the New World or the Peninsula. A combination of the discussion of these two questions (location and native presence) with a resumé of the corpus-titles as last defined by Zugasti, are what now follows. I omit titles still considered lost, but retain the loose thematic boundaries drawn between groups of plays (histories,

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[17] I am grateful to Professor Dixon for his guidance (in a note to me) on the issue of the "Zárate" play, in which he lends support to the ideas of Romero Muñoz, but also points out that the text of *La conquista de México* is unreliable and suspiciously short (2025 lines). There is sufficient material available in the play, however, to sustain the the comparison I draw at the end of Chapter Three of this study, between scenes in *El Nuevo Mundo* and *La conquista de México.*

[18] Medina (1917) had originally grouped the works into four categories (7): i) Los descubridores y conquistadores (11 ff); ii) Personajes notables/de un orden inferior (71ff); iii) Los santos americanos (121ff); iv) Sucesos varios (141 ff).

hagiographies and adventures) which should establish a firm basis upon which to begin discussion of this underestimated fragment of the Golden Age theatre. (I include some of Zugasti's dates for purpose of orientation).[19]

His list of *comedias históricas* begins with Lope's *Arauco domado* (published in 1625 but probably written at the turn of the century), followed by *El Nuevo Mundo descubierto por Cristóbal Colón* (published in 1614) and *El Brasil restituido* (written and performed in 1625). These plays are, as their titles suggest, set in Chile, the Caribbean, and Brazil respectively - the first two featuring a strong Indian presence, the latter having only that of the aforementioned conceptual Indian archetype, El Brasil, and her native attendants. It is a celebration of the combined Spanish and Portuguese forces' recapture of Bahía de Todos Santos from the Dutch - that is, a European battle set in the New World. The same episode is also treated (this time without the appearance of Indians of any description) by the Portuguese Juan Antonio Correa in *Pérdida y restauración de la Bahía de Todos Santos* (published in 1670).

The *auto*, *La Araucana*, traditionally (mis)attributed to Lope,[20] is included in the corpus: it also has a notional Chilean setting and appears to be unique among the pieces under discussion in that it features no Spaniards, only Indians (including Christ - as an Indian - in costume!).

The title *La conquista de México* published in *Parte XXX. Comedias nuevas y escogidas de los mejores ingenios de España* of 1668, appears to be another "lost" item, entitled *La conquista de Cortés*. Zugasti (1996a: 435 note 20) reports on the investigations carried out by Romero Muñoz in 1983 and 1984; hence the (somewhat

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[19] I remit for details of dating and some of the finer bibliographical data to Zugasti's article (1996a) and his subsequent research into the series of works which comprise *El español entre todas las naciones*, as contained in the article 'Andanzas americanas de Pedro Ordóñez de Ceballos en dos comedias del Siglo de Oro' currently in press. I am indebted to Dr. Zugasti for supplying me with an advance copy of the text of this article, plus other bibliographical assistance and advice too extensive to list.

[20] For example, by Medina (1917) and Heathcote (1980). Zugasti questions the attribution of the piece to Lope (1996a: 434), as does Dixon previous to this (1992: 249).

confusing) attribution of the play to Fernando de Zárate - a pseudonym of Antonio Enríquez Gómez, who was in fact - Lope de Vega! The Zárate/Enríquez/Lope piece is set entirely in Mexico with numerous Indian characters. Also in the *Parte XXX* is Gaspar de Ávila's *El valeroso español y primero de su casa* (about Cortés), previously published in 1652 under the title *La sentencia sin firma*. Ávila's play is set in the Peninsula, but (uniquely) features Indian captives at Court and so commands a place in the roster.

Tirso's trilogy on the Pizarros has received, in relative terms, a fair amount of critical attention over the years (Green 1936, Dellepiane 1968, Vázquez Fernández 1992, Zugasti 1992, *et al*). *Todo es dar en una cosa*, *Amazonas en las Indias* and *La lealtad contra la envidia*, written between 1626 and 1631 (Zugasti 1993: 21-22) are also listed in Zugasti's historical category; the first in the series being – as previously stated - set entirely in Spain (and without native presence), the second in Peru, and the third alternating its *jornadas* between these two locations. The Peruvian interludes include a variety of native characters, as does *Las palabras a los reyes y gloria de los Pizarros* by Vélez de Guevara, which also divides the action between the Peninsula and the Inca Empire and whose date of composition is probably from around the same time (Zugasti 1992, 1996b). One of the Pizarro brothers, Francisco, also features in Calderón's only New World drama, *La aurora en Copacabana* (published in 1672), which is also set in Peru, and features a similar range of natives on stage. Zugasti has reservations about a rehash of this play, entitled *Pizarro en Copacabana y en su India triunfante España*, considering it to be an eighteenth-century work, and therefore excludes it. This suspicion has been confirmed by Dr. Barry Taylor of the British

Library[21]. However, although it cannot be included in the corpus, the third act of this play is radically different from the Calderón original, and contains unique material which does cast light on eighteenth-century attitudes, and to which I make reference in the final chapter of this study.

Either Juan Pérez de Montalbán or Luis de Belmonte Bermúdez is thought to have written *La monja alférez* around 1626. This play celebrates a *conquistadora* of Chile, Doña Catalina de Arauso, but no Indians appear on stage. *La bellígera española*, published in 1616 and written by Ricardo de Turia, (a pseudonym of Pedro de Rejaule) deals similarly with Doña Mencía de Nidos, and is also set in Chile. The latter play does have a full complement of native adversaries.

Still on the subject of the Chilean Conquest, is the collaborative effort of nine playwrights, (the principal being Belmonte Bermúdez) entitled *Algunas hazañas de las muchas de don García Hurtado de Mendoza, marqués de Cañete*, first performed in Madrid in 1622.[22] Don García is also the subject of two other plays, *El gobernador prudente* by Gaspar de Ávila, published in 1663, and González de Bustos's *Los españoles en Chile*, published in 1665. All these plays stage the campaign against the Araucanian Indians.

The second of Zugasti's categories, *comedias de santos*, features Cervantes's much commented *El rufián dichoso* (with acts II and III set in Mexico) and published in 1615.[23] This play has no specific Indian presence (unless one judges the women who tempt Cristóbal de Lugo in act II to be Indians). In the same year there appeared

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[21] My thanks are due to Dr. Barry Taylor who was kind enough to examine the manuscript handwriting for me *in situ*.

[22] His collaborators were: Mira de Amescua; conde Basto; Ruiz de Alarcón; Vélez de Guevara; Ludeña; Herrera; Villegas; and Guillén de Cástro. See Vega García-Luengos on the play's format (1991).

[23] Professor Dixon has informed me that this play was first published in Cervantes's *Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses nuevos nunca representados* of 1615. See also on this play Varas (1991) and Zimic (1980).

Vida y muerte del santo Fray Luis Bertrán, written either by Gaspar de Aguilar or by Agustín Moreto, which has its second act in the Indies, the same saint and theme being also the subject of an undated manuscript *La batalla de los dos* by Francisco de la Torre y Sevil. These plays are all set (at least in part) in the Indies and all feature native characters. The final title in this section is Moreto's *Santa Rosa del Perú.* Incomplete at the time of the author's death in 1659, it was finished by Lanini y Sagredo and published in 1671. This play, set in Lima, features only Spaniards.

The last of Zugasti's categories, *comedias de aventuras o enredo*, lists only two titles: Andrés de Claramonte's *El nuevo rey Gallinato y ventura por desgracia* (first performed in 1604 and set in Peru with natives featured); and the Havana-based *Más la amistad que la sangre*, by Andrés de Baeza, already mentioned above, and published in 1658.

This completes the list of items from the corpus (including the *auto*, *La Araucana*) used as a basis for this study, of which seventeen are historical, four hagiographical and two 'del género de aventuras'(Zugasti 1996a: 441). There is also (in the historical category) the sixteenth-century *auto*, *Las cortes de la muerte*, and mention should be made of another Mexican piece (not a *comedia*): the *Coloquio de los cuatro reyes de Tlaxcala* attributed to Gutiérrez de Luna, and possibly dating from around 1619.[24] Finally, the late seventeenth-century auto, *El divino Narciso* by Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz is preceded by a *loa* which contains unique material in its depiction of native ceremonies (Galván 1997).

As Zugasti concludes, 'creo que ya no cabe seguir hablando de una decena de obras; la cifra ha de girar en torno a los dos docenas y es muy factible que siga creciendo a la luz de nuevos hallazgos textuales o lecturas frescas de piezas

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[24] See Reynolds 1969, and Rojas Garcidueñas/Arrom 1976, for discussions of date of composition and authorship.

existentes' (1996a: 441).

By way of securing this introductory section, we can now tabulate those plays the whereabouts of which are known, and which feature an Indian presence:

Aguilar o Moreto	*Fray Luis Bertrán*
Anon./Lope de Vega	*La Araucana* (*auto*)
Anon.	*El español entre todas las naciones (Parte 4ª)*
Ávila, Gaspar de	*El gobernador prudente*
Ávila, Gaspar de	*El valeroso Español*
Belmonte, Luis de, *et al.*	*Algunas hazañas*
Calderón	*La aurora en Copacabana*
Carvajal/Hurtado	*Las cortes de la muerte* (*auto*)
Cervantes	*El rufián dichoso*
Claramonte, Andrés de	*El nuevo rey Gallinato*
Cruz, Sor Juana Inés de la	*Loa para El divino Narciso*
González de Bustos, F.	*Los españoles en Chile*
Gutiérrez de Luna	*Coloquio de los cuatro reyes de Tlaxcala*
Molina, Tirso de	*Amazonas en las Indias*
Molina, Tirso de	*La lealtad contra la envidia*
Remón, Alonso	*El Español entre [...] naciones Parte 1ª*
Torre y Sevil, F. de la	*(San Luis Bertrán o) La batalla de los dos*
Turia, Ricardo de	*La bellígera española*
Vega, Lope de	*Arauco domado*
Vega, Lope de	*El Nuevo Mundo*
Vega, Lope de	*El Brasil restituido*
Vélez de Guevara, L.	*Las palabras a los reyes*
Zárate/Enríquez Gómez/Vega	*La Conquista de México*

Add to these those dramas that are set in the New World but which do not feature Indians on stage ...

Moreto/Lanini	*Santa Rosa del Perú*
Baeza, Andrés de	*Más la amistad que la sangre*
Correa, Juan Antonio	*Pérdida y restauración de la Bahía de Todos Santos*
Pérez de Montalbán	*La monja alférez*

... and one arrives at a total of 27.

So the status of the body of New World plays is thus substantially healthier than has recently been thought. As regards the location of the action, most of the items in the above list are set in Chile, followed by Peru, then Mexico, with two each

set in Brazil, and the Caribbean. In the case of the San Luis Bertrán pieces, the setting appears to be deliberately indeterminate,[25] possibly in keeping with a utopian spirit of millenarist zeal which characterises these plays, and which are an exception to the militarism of most of the corpus. Similar variants can be found in Sor Juana's *loa* to *El divino Narciso*, and Cervantes's *El rufián dichoso* – but these are set in Mexico. The "setting" of the *auto de Las cortes de la muerte* is, of course, the afterlife.[26]

The actual staging of the plays gives no clue as to a distinction being made between different geographical locations in the Indies. Beyond such obvious indicators as place-names, the seashores, jungles, mountains and townships of the New World are never signalled as being peculiar to Peru, Brazil, Mexico, or anywhere else. The same is almost true of the Indian nations. For the purposes of dramatisation, all Indians appear to be drawn from the same templates. There is, however, a series of references to one particular group of Indians, who are singled out as being unusually warlike and sophisticated in their resistance to the Spaniards. These are the Araucanians, and this singularity is (from the metropolitan point of view) entirely self-serving as part of the effort to exalt the achievement of the Spanish victors. This is especially the case at the start of *Los españoles en Chile* where the Indians arrogantly declare their superior prowess to those who in 'los Indianos Imperios / de Méjico y de el Pirù, a vn Carlos están sujetos' (González de Bustos 1665: fol. 4R). 'Arauco inuencible', it is proclaimed, has already thrown off the Spanish yoke and can now compete with its erstwhile conquerors (that is, be 'emulos de sus glorias') (1665: fol.4R). This view is echoed by the Spaniards themselves, keen to take on such worthy opponents, as one Spanish captain admonishes another:

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[25] See, however, the article by White (1998).
[26] For evidence of an Erasmian train of thought in *Las cortes de la muerte* see Rodríguez-Puértolas (1971) and Ruiz Pérez (1988) who also discusses the "trasmundo infernal" which impacts on the "setting" of the *auto*. I am grateful to Dr. Luis González for drawing my attention to the latter article.

> Mirad, D. Pedro, vos aueis llegado
> poco avrá del Pirù, sois gran soldado,
> bien lo dize el valor que en vos se halla:
> pero no conoceis a esta canalla;
> porque son tan valientes,
> y de essotros de allà tan diferẽtes,
> q̃ porq̃ todos sus hazañas vean,
> con disciplina militar pelean.
>
> (González de Bustos 1665: fol.7R)

Together with the Araucanians' capacity for seige-warfare in the European mode, and their manipulation of weapons, armour and horses, this unparalleled admiration on the part of Spaniards for Indian opponents represents the epitome of glorious self-inscription: the Spaniards are able to place their achievements in the New World on a par with those in Europe. Other playwrights, though not so fanciful as González de Bustos in their praise of the Araucanians, second these sentiments. 'Esos son / más altivos: morirán / primero en su obstinación /que rendirse', it is claimed in *El gobernador prudente* (Ávila 1917: 103). Catalina de Erauso, the heroine of *La monja alférez* sums up the point when she speaks in act III of 'el indómito Arauco', and expresses the wish to serve the King 'si pueden (estas manos) tambien vencer / Flamencos como Araucanos' (Pérez de Montalbán n.d: n.p.). This distinction apart, no differentiation is made in the corpus between one group of stage-Indians or another, or between the territories they occupy.

As regards a further alternative filter - the issue of sponsorship - Zugasti offers this afterthought:[27]

> La clasificación por protagonistas ofrece este curioso baremo: cuatro versan sobre el marqués de Cañete ... cinco sobre los Pizarros, dos sobre Cortés y una sobre Colón; o sea, tal y como argumenta G.F Dille, 'Casi en orden inverso de su fama actual'. Esta simple estadística es comprensible atendiendo el fenómeno del encargo literario, muy practicado por Hurtados y Pizarros y más desatendido por los descendientes de Colón y Cortés.
>
> (1996a: 441 note 49)

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[27] On the issue of sponsorship in general see Benedetti (1993: 8) and Ferrer Valls (1991).

Such, then, is the composition of the corpus of plays which will form the foundation of the present study. Zugasti does further suggest that the corpus ought to 'completarse con las piezas de teatro breve y con aquellas otras que evocan las Indias Orientales'(1996a: 442). I have come across only two such examples in the former category, both by Quiñones de Benavente: *El Martinillo* and *El Talego-niño.* These two *entremeses* are cited by Romera Castillo (1992: 114ff), and feature respectively Nuevo Mundo' as a character, and a certain Salpullida who appears onstage '*de reina india, con los bailarines vestidos de indios*'. Romera Castillo also mentions an anonymous *Mojiganga del Mundi nuevo* (sic) with Indians on stage (1992: 107). The latter part of Zugasti's proposal regarding the Oriental Indies would substantially expand the number of *comedias* available for discussion and other playwrights do of course situate pieces in the Middle and Far East. [28] (I intend to restrict the scope of this study to the Americas and their natives, however, as I feel that the potential scope implied by a corpus which embraces all locations that can be construed as "Indies" - regardless of hemisphere – to be unserviceable within the terms I have set myself above). In any case, regarding the quest for related works, I feel that Dixon makes a more helpful suggestion; in an article on *Arauco domado*, he gives *Los guanches de Tenerife* as 'relevant' to the dramatic portrayal of the encounter with the New World (1992: 249).[29] Weiner has stated the case for this in 1983, and as Brito Díaz argues convincingly in a recent study (1998), the play by Lope is exactly similar to his *El Nuevo Mundo descubierto por Cristóbal Colón* in the representation of the natives

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[28] Morley and Tyler (1961: 591, 682) classify as *indios orientales*, characters in up to four works by Lope; *Barlaan y Josafat, La octava maravilla, Angélica en el Catay,* and (possibly) *Las justas de Tebas.*
[29] Apart from suggesting an examination of *Los guanches*, Dixon (1992: 249 note 2) notes that 'the location of some fanciful scenes in *El premio de la hermosura* is ill-defined but presumably transatlantic, and *San Diego de Alcalá* and *La octava maravilla* have scenes in the Canaries', this last play, of course, having been assigned to the category of *oriental* by Morley and Tylerl (1961: 591,682).

(the Conquest of the Canary Islands being an integral part of the Spanish expansion westwards). This inclusion can further be justified by the fact that these islands (unlike the East Indies) were inhabited by pagans whose religious traditions, like those of the American Indians, fell outside those of the Old World and the Orient. The juridical status of New World pagans was different from that of their counterparts in the Old World, as Elliott has explained:

> The experience of the *Reconquista* had led to the formulation of an elaborate code of rules about the "just war", and the rights of the victors over the vanquished population, including the right to enslave it. These rules were extended as a matter of course to the Canary Islands [...] It could however be argued that there was a difference in kind between the Canary Islanders and the Moors of south Spain, since the islanders were totally ignorant of Christianity until the arrival of the Spaniards, whereas the Moors had heard of Christianity but rejected it.
>
> (1970: 69)

In the course of what follows, I show that the artifice which informs the representation on stage of pagan Indians is identical (as a construct) to that of the Canary Islanders. This similarity therefore supports inclusion of *Los guanches de Tenerife* in the corpus. Furthermore, Lope himself has the action of the play unfold anachronistically as if it were concurrent with awareness of the New World of the Indies. He goes so far as to associate the two geographical entities in a speech by the Spaniard Castillo who, on spying the beautiful native Dácil bathing, asks himself '¿si es ave destas islas? / que los que del Mundo Nuevo / vuelven a España nos cuentan / mil embelecos como estos' (Vega 1950b: 73).[30]

* * *

[30] In quoting from the corpus of plays, I use modern editions wherever available, retaining their spelling, punctuation, accentuation and capitalisation. Where I use seventeenth-century printed editions or any manuscript, I also retain idiosyncrasies of spelling, punctuation, accentuation and capitalisation. For purposes of consistency and clarity, however, I have italicised all quotations made from stage-directions.

Even with the location of more than two dozen dramatic pieces dealing with the topic of the New World, the paucity of the literary response to the events of 1492 and beyond continues to puzzle critics.[31] There does not appear to be any contemporary evidence of prohibition regarding treatment of the Indies on the stage, so quantifying such absence is inherently problematical. Zugasti does undertake a resumé of the speculation as to the reasons for this (1996a : 430ff), but is rightly cautious in attempting to second-guess the motivation of the creative spirits of the age, and suggests that the reason for writers' reluctance to engage the topic might be quite mundane:

> Ante tamaña desproporción la incógnita que se plantea es por qué el descubrimiento del Nuevo Mundo no llegó a calar en el gusto y la sensibilidad de un público que tan aficionado era a la farándula y las cosas fantásticas; y digo público porque de haber recibido una respuesta positiva de los corrales no creo que nuestros dramaturgos hubiesen tenido problema alguno en ambientar sus comedias en el filón de nuevos temas, paisajes, culturas y personajes heroicos que las Indias ofrecían. Sí abundaron, no obstante, las *Relaciones*, *Memoriales*, *Cartas* y *Crónicas* de tales hechos, pero dichos textos no entran de lleno en el ámbito de literatura ni – muchas veces – van dirigidos a un espęctador o lector indeterminado, sino más bien a tribunales o personalidades concretas. A mi juicio las razones de esta ausencia no son imputables al desinterés de los creadores.
>
> (1996a: 430)

This still begs the question why there might have existed such resistance or indifference to the topic on the part of the theatre going public. In responding via a series of 'rápidas reflexiones' (1996a: 431) Zugasti sounds a consistent note of caution in calibrating literary output against modern perceptions of history. What now follows is an overview of his speculations and those drawn from other commentators (Bakewell 1991, Bennassar 1980, Braudel 1999, Dille 1988, Elliott 1963, Morínigo 1946, Reinhard 1992, Simson 1998, 1990, Trevor Davies 1957,

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[31] See Elliott (1976) for the more general context to this apparent apathy.

Thomas 1993, *et al.*)

Psychological, chronological and geographical distance from the historical events in question are the probable clues to the neglect of the Indies on stage. Practically every piece under discussion dates from at least a century after Columbus's Discovery, and some sixty years after the end of the Great Age of Conquest: that is, they were already part of a distant and mythologised past. This might lead to speculation that they would, like the Reconquest or medieval legends, have provided prime patriotic material for the playwrights of the *comedia*. However, the sense of nostalgia and mythification which characterised the New World encounter had also developed, over the sixteenth century, a parallel and much less comforting image at home. The chronicler López de Gómara's definition of the Discovery as 'la mayor cosa ocurrida después de la creación del mundo, sacando la encarnación y muerte del que lo creó' (quoted by Morínigo 1946: 11) may seem apt to us now, but attitudes in Spain were less convinced of its transcendence. Set against such events, the Crown gave much greater priority to the Counter Reformation, the threat from the Turk, and the stewardship of its European territories than to those of the distant New World. By comparison, exploits in the Indies cut little ice with jealous observers at home. These victories had been achieved in a matter of months, by a handful of troops, against naked opponents, with primitive weapons (or so the wisdom ran) and could hardly compare with the sophisticated wars of attrition conducted in Flanders and Italy. In any case, there existed an inbuilt bias against the social origins of the transatlantic adventurers themselves: the initiators - Columbus, Cortés, Almagro, Valdivia - were dismissed as (at most) elements of the minor aristocracy, impoverished *hidalgos* bent on loot and easy glory. Those who succeeded overseas and returned with the proceeds felt the full weight of metropolitan disdain.

Particularly odious to the jealous onlooker was their practice of buying aristocratic titles and setting-up as lords of the manor. These were viewed at best as social-climbers and fantasists (and at worst as crooks and swindlers). A further contributory factor may have lain in awareness of the fate suffered by many of the Conquistadors. Those who survived were castigated for their exploits for the rest of their lives, their sins being visited upon their descendants. And although their names appear in the roster of the protagonists of the plays, Columbus, Cortés, Pizarro and Hurtado de Mendoza were in fact subjected to a variety of recriminatory practices ranging from criminal charges, marginalisation and punishing lawsuits regarding their conduct. Official *residencias* dragged on for years, dissecting their campaigns or their tenure. The reality was that, immediately the Conquistadors had completed their bloody task, they had outlived their usefulness, and although Spain could not refrain on the one hand from mythologising its all-conquering sons in the expansion *plus ultra*, such a process consigned the likes of Columbus, Cortés and Pizarro definitively to the past.

On the vexed question of whether creativity was blunted by the brutal reputation of the Conquistadors (and indeed that of Spain as whole) Zugasti remains sceptical:

> Un argumento reiterado varias veces es que la desmedida sed de oro (con el consiguiente expolio de las riquezas americanas) y la crueldad de la colonización incrementaron la mala fama de los conquistadores. En este sentido se apunta que desde España se criticó mucho tal actuación por lo lesiva que resultaba para los nativos. Creo que esta postura obedece a un desenfoque muy generalizado que hunde sus raíces en la secular leyenda negra española. En primer lugar los saqueos no fueron exclusivos de Indias, sino que era una ley marcial que imperaba desde antiguo y que todo ejército europeo llevaba a la práctica. En segundo lugar los reparos que podían escucharse en la corte presentaban un doble filo: para los religiosos y moralistas comprometidos (tomando como estandarte al P. Las Casas y su *Brevísima relación de la destruición de las Indias*) primaba el factor de la dignidad humana, en cambio las críticas de gran parte de la nobleza y burguesía no obedecían tanto a la naturaleza del hecho de obtener oro cuanto a la facilidad con que se amasaba (o al menos así se suponía) ese oro; esta censura, por tanto, era más bien el maquillaje de una envidia por el rápido

> enriquecimiento ajeno. La corona no hizo ascos al oro de las Indias, antes al contrario cobraba sin demora su quinto correspondiente. En tercer lugar las críticas provenientes del extranjero no estaban exentas de pareja doble faz: no cabe duda de que serían sinceras en muchos clérigos y humanistas, pero a la vez países como Holanda o Inglaterra permitían y aun fomentaban la piratería, llegando incluso a premiar con el título de Sir al temido pirata Drake. Respecto al innegable crueldad de todo proceso de conquista no caben distingos entre unos países y otros, y en todo caso con el paso del tiempo ésta quedaría más marcada en el norte de América, con el exterminio casi total de la población aborigen. Así pues, no creo que este último aspecto incidiese negativamente en la creación literaria y frenase el ingenio de los poetas, ya que no presenta diferencia esencial alguna con la práctica común en el resto de frentes o países en litigio con la corona española.
>
> (1996a: 431)

This conclusion seems to strike the right balance between the seductive concept of an "absent corpus" as testimony to a Spanish imperial guilt, and a valid acknowledgement (within the plays we do have) of Spanish awareness of the horrors of conquest - any conquest, that is. For an example in support of the notion that playwrights were capable of addressing these issues if prompted, and that they were not compromised by the intervention of a self-interested *mecenas*, one need look no further than historical incidents in the career of that most fervent sponsor, García Hurtado de Mendoza, who, as an intemperate young governor, had made full use of terror to subjugate renegade Indians in Chile. After the battle of Lagunillas in 1557 the chronicler Jerónimo de Vivar reported 300 Araucanians dead and 150 taken prisoner 'a los cuales mandó el gobernador cortar las manos derechas y narices. A algunos les cortaban entrambas manos y éstos enviaba por embajadores a los compañeros que se habían escapado' (Campos Harriet 1968: 65). Apart from the undying emnity of the Araucanian people that this horrible sanction provoked, it caused an outcry from don García's perennially turbulent priest, Fray Gil de San Nicolás, and perhaps more significantly, earned the disapproval of a captain, Alonso de Ercilla, who was later to take revenge of a kind in his massively influential epic poem *La Araucana* - as remarkable for the exaltation of its Indian heroes as for the

faint praise which it bestowed on the hothead governor (Campos Harriet 1969: 65).[32] Some sixty years after his brutal pacification, García Hurtado de Mendoza was to alter his last will and testament in telling fashion, because 'en el atardecer de su vida, le asaltan dudas sobre la justicia de su conducta' suggests Campos Harriet, and in 1609 he provides for annual alms of 500 ducats to be distributed among the poor of the *marquesado* of Cañete,

> por vía de restitución, pues cuando fue gobernador de Chile, en las batallas sostenidas con los araucanos le habían asaltado algunos escrúpulos por los atropellos y malos tratos que se infligieron a los combatientes indígenas. Aunque de ello habían corrido muchos años [...] todavía en plena satisfacción y descargo de su conciencia y para eximirse de toda responsabilidad, había obtenido un breve de Su Santidad que le libraba de todo escrúpulo. Sin embargo, instituye dicha fundación benéfica, para protección de los necesitados en Cuenca.
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> (1969: 177).

The most renowned feature of his bloody tenure is the impaling of the Araucanian chieftain, Caupolicán. But the horrific mutilations mentioned above, and this spectacular execution are directly addressed in no fewer than four plays. Indeed the latter incident is the most thoroughly exploited in the whole of the corpus. Are the plays in which the *marqués* appears a complementary response to the queasy conscience so manifest in his will? Are they perhaps a rejoinder to his desultory portrayal by Ercilla?[33] It is impossible to say, but given that he was still alive at the time of the most brutal of his own dramatic portrayals (*Arauco domado*), it appears he must have at least consented to this first recreation of his role in events. *Algunas hazañas* was performed and published in 1622; *El gobernador prudente* and *Los españoles en Chile*, published in 1663 and 1665, cannot be dated. Even so, this leaves intact Zugasti's contention that creative spirits were not deflected from engaging such

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[32] See Lerner (1991) on Ercilla's vision of America.

[33] See Dixon 1993b for the dating of various creative efforts on the exploits of don García (who died in 1609) and who may even have colluded with Lope during his composition of *Arauco domado* (1993b: 95 note 44).

aspects of the Conquest *per se*, and would react according to circumstances - sponsorship being, of course, among the most attractive.

In any event, assumptions about the creativity of playwrights, and the sensibilities of their audience, on the basis of the historical distortions of the "Black Legend", are fraught with difficulty. Anachronistic sensitivities can lead to an excessively literal interpretation of words placed in the mouth of characters on stage, and Dixon is surely right to restrain the enthusiasm of Ruiz Ramón, for example, in his exaltation of Lope's sympathetic portrayal of the Indians in *Arauco domado* (one of the sponsored panegyrics in the service of don García):

> We should not distort Lope's play by viewing it from too present-day a perspective, and suggest that he was subverting, even subconsciously, his propagandistic brief; but we cannot but be moved, as no doubt he was, by the heroism, love of country and longing for liberty that he attributes (alongside their savagery) to the native people of Chile. Ruiz Ramón was wrong to assert that 'es...la libertad la idea central que...domina enteramente este bello poema dramático de Lope', but right to speak of a 'poderoso ejercicio intelectual y afectivo de identificación'.
>
> (1993: 90)

Among those plays which eschew militarism, it is even more evident that the perceptions of history (however accurate) may not necessarily have found an echo in a piece of theatre. Some of the plays in the New World corpus, as already indicated, address the issue of evangelisation in a quite separate way from the military items, that is, via the particular avenue of hagiography. The Luis Bertrán cycle embraces a millenial vision of virgin territories ripe for the conversion of souls and free from the corruption of the Old World. [34] Here the conquest is that of the intellect by means verbal reasoning (with a little help from the miraculous). In these plays, the Indians are initially belligerent and hostile to evangelisation, but in the end gratefully accede. In historical terms, this is in contrast to the corrosive disillusionment which had

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[34]See López de Mariscal (1997) on the related topic of the *teatro de evangelización* in the New World itself.

reportedly come to characterise the Indian missions as the century wore on (Reinhard 1992, Baudot 1996). [35] Messianic evangelical enthusiasm had apparently given way to weariness among the missionary orders and the Church. Even sympathetic clergy could not disguise their disappointment at the more dubious aspects of Spain's legacy to the Indians:

> Les vieron convertirse en un pueblo roto y desmoralizado; y el franciscano Mendieta escribió en 1596 sobre 'la vergüenza que los cristianos deberíamos tener de que unos infieles, y de menos talento, hayan tenido en su infidelidad mejor policía y gobierno, en que lo que es costumbres morales, que el que tienen, siendo cristianos, debajo de nuestra mano'.
>
> (Elliott 1990: 88)

Nor could they ignore the fragility and superficiality of the conversion among many Indians. Thomas reports that 'in the late sixteenth century Fr. Durán was honest enough to see that Mexicans, while formally attending Christian festivals, seemed underneath, to be celebrating pagan ones. The secret practice of ancient religious rites, without, it would seem, human sacrifice, continued for many years' (1993: 590). This was reflected at home in Spain, according to Reinhard:

> In the 1570s, the crown hardened its policies. Time and again Philip II forbade the the ordination of *mestizos*. Books on the religion, history and culture of the Indians were forbidden, manuscripts were confiscated for 'thus God and We are best served'. As a result, the most important indophile writings like those of Sahagún remained unpublished until the nineteenth century. The background to this is the disappointing albeit in no way surprising discovery that below the surface of a successful Christianization, Indian paganism continued to exist.
>
> (1992: 373)

Such jaded views of the progress of evangelisation in the Indies are, however, never reflected in the plays, and the fact that more plays of a hagiographical or utopian/millenarist cast do not appear in the roster, remains an enigma.

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[35] I am grateful to Dr. Luis González for drawing my attention to the article by Baudot.

On a broader, secular level, commentators have identified a certain malaise affecting counter-reformation Spain, and which gathers momentum after the death of Philip II. The incidence of this national depression upon the inclination of playwrights to dramatise the Indies is similarly elusive, but it is worth recording that it was not just petty jealousy, snobbery, arrogance and judicial harrassment, that tainted the metropolitan view of their distant possessions. Perceptions of the New World were now assimilating notions of the burden which empire entailed. The years of the rise of the Lopean *comedia* between 1590 and 1620 seem to have coincided with a radical shift in perception of what the New World territories might mean in terms of overall benefit to the motherland. In his essay *España y su imperio en los siglos XVI y XVII*, Elliott traces the cumulative gloom descending upon the transatlantic relationship. Apart from the vital need to curtail migration to the New World in the wake of the plagues of 1599-1600, silver remittances to Seville and the demand for luxury items had begun to shrink. The business of warding off the increasingly audacious attacks of the Dutch and the piratical English at sea was proving expensive, as was a now interminable campaign against supposedly backward savages. 'En el reinado de Felipe III, el dinero tenía que ser arañado año tras año para costear la guerra contra los indios araucanos en Chile' reports Elliott (1990: 47), in spite of continuing hostility to this branch of warfare by comparison to the campaigns in Europe. The sheer expense of defending the European *monarquía*, the far-flung Indies, as well as the Pacific dependencies - financed by debts to the Fuggers and Genoese (Elliott 1990: 45) - brought the Castilian economy to its knees, the effects of which had dire consequences for the common people bearing the brunt of it. Crippling taxation aimed at those who could least afford it went hand-in-glove with famine and rural depopulation in favour of the cities:

> Esta conciencia creciente del peso del imperio se agudizaba por la profunda miseria de Castilla. La Castilla de Felipe III y Felipe IV entró en un período de introspección colectiva, acompañada de desesperados intentos por identificar y analizar las causas del malestar. Parecía una paradoja extraordinaria que Castilla, la cabeza de un gran imperio, pudiera ser azotada por la pobreza, que pudiera haber sido tan rica y que ahora fuera tan pobre. González de Cellorigo, al estudiar en 1600 los problemas de Castilla, los conecta, al menos algunos, con el efecto psicológico del descubrimiento de las Indias. En su opinión, el efecto del aparente flujo ilimitado de plata americana a Sevilla sirvió para crear una falsa sensación de riqueza, como si ésta estuviera constituida por el oro y la plata, mientras que la verdadera riqueza radicaba en las inversiones productivas y en el desarollo de la industria, la agricultura y el comercio. Si esto era así, el descubrimiento de América podría considerarse perjudicial para España, ya que desvió la atención del país de las fuentes verdaderas de la prosperidad y lo deslumbró con el milagro de las falsas riquezas. Los castellanos, a resultas de esto, abandonaron el trabajo por los sueños. El erudito flamenco Justo Lipsio escribió a un amigo español: 'Vencido por vosotros, os ha vencido, a su vez, el Nuevo Mundo y ha agotado o debilitado vuestro antiguo vigor'.
>
> (Elliott 1990: 47-8)[36]

And as Schwartz has pointed out, the whole enterprise surrounding the Indies was held in the lowest possible esteem by creative spirits and commentators:

> La empresa de las Indias llegó a ser percebida en el XVII como una carga, que ya no era de provecho para la monarquía. En la visión de muchos poetas y moralistas, compendiaba, además, los vicios de una sociedad que debía regenerarse para conservarse. Ninguno peor que el de la codicia o avaricia, que obligaba a sumergirse en el tráfago del mundo, cuando lo que debía buscarse, en la tradicón cristiana y estoica, era la tranquilidad del alma. Así cambió de signo la imagen de las Indias y el Nuevo Mundo, que en las crónicas había sido representado como espacio del heroísmo, se convirtió en la sátira y en la literatura moral en *locus* de la corrupción.
>
> (1993: 96)[37]

In sum, the climate of opinion was not propitious for poets in matters relating to the Indies. Apart from the gloom described by Elliott, the embargo on tracts by missionaries was accompanied by strictures against secular writings treating the Indies, reinforced by acute awareness of the propagandistic successes of Spain's imperial rivals in Europe who utilised such texts for their own hostile ends. Although

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[36] See articles by Romanos (1992, 1993) on criticism of the overseas enterprise by Góngora and other commentators.

[37] See also Schwartz's related article on the *auri sacra fames* (1992).

resourceful playwrights could always take inspiration in the texts that were available, the climate of disapproval or disinterest must have percolated into their response to some extent. Simson's suggestion that this establishment-inspired impediment had a major impact on discouraging creativity on transatlantic subjects seems to be well-founded. And if her hypothesis is valid, it supplies a practical rationale for the reluctance of writers to engage the topic – one that fully complements the phenomenon of the high proportion of sponsored efforts among the titles in the corpus - and the defensive, justificatory tone of so many of the titles and plays. Commenting the Spanish sensitivities to foreign criticism, Simson observes:

> Como reacción a todos estos problemas el gobierno de Felipe II trató con éxito de intensificar su censura contra los textos que abordaban aspectos americanos. Al mismo tiempo América se convirtió en asunto secreto y se mantuvieron bajo llave todos los documentos sobre los países americanos colonizados por España, con el resultado de que en la segunda mitad del siglo XVI casi no aprecieron publicaciones sobre América. Las medidas tomadas por la censura fueron estrictas. Fue el objetivo del gobierno proscribir el tema de América de la vida pública. Los problemas que habían resultado de la conquista y colonización de América ya no deberían ser discutidos públicamente, para evitar ofrecer argumentos a los adversarios de España – en el interior como en el exterior. Los textos sobre las colonias fueron confinados en archivos secretos fuera del alcance de la publicidad.
>
> Aunque probablemente la censura rígida de textos sobre asuntos americanos no afectó tanto a los autores de textos ficticios, todos los autores que escribieron sobre temas americanos corrieron el riesgo de enfrentarse a la censura y de no recibir la aprobación para la imprenta. Es de suponer que la censura fue al menos una de las causas por las cuales las comedias que tratan aspectos de la conquista de América, siempre tematizan la justificación del proceder de España en América. Como lo dice Christopher Laferl, que se ocupó del tema de las comedias de temática americana:
>
> > Al leer las obras se tiene siempre la impresión de que los autores se sentían obligados interiormente a justificar los hechos de los conquistadores.
>
> Obviamente ya no hubo lugar para preguntas o dudas.
>
> (1998: 314)

Such, then, was the metropolitan context coinciding with the rise of the *comedia* in Spain, and it is entirely possible that an "out of sight, out of mind" ethos

took its toll artistically, as Zugasti has concluded:

> Quizá sea más fácil entender por qué la mentalidad y el gusto de la sociedad áurea seguían prefiriendo los viejos temas y personajes a la nueva América: las Indias quedaban abiertas para quienes tuviesen deseos de aventura y medro rápido; geográficamente estaban demasiado lejos para las miras de un español medio; ni los soldados hispanos ni sus salvajes oponentes tenían la categoría de héroes míticos de la gozaban personajes como Alejandro Magno, el Cid, los Reyes Católicos, Carlos V, etc.
>
> (1996a: 431)

Those playwrights who, in spite of all this, did turn their sights upon the New World as a theme - usually in response to payment or preferment – were, as Simson points out, subject to a dissuasion of potential, rather than a retrospective embargo. They were able to access early writings and privately commissioned, expensively printed, source-materials cast in panegyric-mode (Dixon 1993b). Initial documentary writing about the Indies in the wake of the Discovery had come directly from the transatlantic perspective, written either by the protagonists themselves, their chroniclers or state bureaucrats and administrators, and were added to later by a handful of epic poems celebrating the heroics of the Conquistadors, and even (in the case of Ercilla's *La Araucana*) those of the Indians (Bauer 1995, Castillo-Sandoval 1995, Durand 1978: 367). Many of these writings, so disparate in nature, did however contain certain elements in common: an addiction to fantasy and grandiose precedent from Antiquity, the Law, the Bible, even romances of chivalry (González 1992, Greene 1995).[38] Many letters and chronicles were coloured by razor-sharp efforts to meet the expectations of the readership (Arellano 1992, Febvre/Martin 1984). Writers such as Columbus and Cortés and those who extolled their virtues were conscious of the scepticism which might greet their efforts and peppered their writings with familiar allure. Bernal Díaz describes the first encounter with the valley of Mexico in

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[38] I am grateful to Professor J. H. Elliott for drawing my attenton to the article by Greene on Petrarchism among the discourses of imperialism.

terms of an enchanted vision from the tales of Amadís of Gaul (Leonard 1953: 50) thus reflecting and investing in the obsession with books of chivalry which transfixed both the Conquistadors and the home readership (Elliott 1990: 53-4, Febvre/Martin: 1984: 207ff). Elliott's deconstruction of writings about or by Cortés shows masters of fiction at work (1990: 50-66). Cortés deliberately couches episodes in his *cartas de relación* in terms of pseudo-biblical grandeur in order that his encounter with Montezuma might evoke passages from the New Testament (Elliott 1990: 60-1). The Aztecs are allocated distant Christian origins (presumably in order to chime with the myth that St. Thomas had once preached in the undiscovered New World).[39] There are adroit quotations from the *romancero* alongside bits of Latin; hackneyed *sententiae* lifted from the *Celestina*. Elsewhere Bernal Díaz insists on comparisons between his master's achievements and those of the Ancients: his report of Cortés's speech to his troops at Tlaxcala runs thus:

> Y a lo que decís que jamás capitán romano de los más nombrados han acometido tan grandes hechos como nosotros, dicen verdad, y ahora y adelante, mediante Dios, dirán en las historias que de esto harán memoria mucho más que de los antepasados.
>
> (quoted by Elliott 1990: 54)

It is the conscious will of the chroniclers to mythologise these events and accelerate the process of legend which is to have a profound impact on their later use as source material by playwrights. The will to myth is inextricably bound up with the process of justification with which these pioneers felt forced to shore up their perilous position - out on a limb, with colossal debts, in breach of the law, or in a state of permanent insubordination. These documents are their investment in future self - preservation. For example, Cortés draws heavily, in his first letter, on the political and juridical ideas of the *Siete Partidas*, Castilian legal statutes dating from the end of

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[39] See Simson (1998: 315) on the myth of St. Thomas in the New World.

the thirteenth century, but widely printed in 1491. His objective is to justify his defiance of the governor of Cuba, Diego Velázquez, in undertaking the expedition into the Mexican hinterland, and according to Cortés's account, the governor of course emerges as the villain of the piece (Elliott 1990: 60).

As the subject matter of so many of the plays is the restoration of a tarnished reputation, the recourse to similar exculpation via mythification and legalism is ever-present, particularly in terms of the epic style which resonates through so much available source material. By way of illustration, one may point to the case of the Pizarros. No reputation had suffered more than this family's, and in accepting a commission to dramatise their exploits, Tirso might appear to have reached for a poisoned chalice. According to Arellano's resumé of the inspiration behind the trilogy, Tirso's brief was no less than to 'ensalzar el apellido Pizarro y preservarlo de la mancha de rebeldía en que lo sumiera Gonzalo en el Perú' (1995: 352).

Tirso's response to this challenge is remarkably robust: *Todo es dar en una cosa* attempts to expunge the stain of illegitimacy from Francisco Pizarro whose youthful associations with European campaigns in Zamora and Italy are given pre-eminence (thus securing his noble origins and bellicose qualities). He manages then to portray Gonzalo Pizarro as the tragic hero of *Amazonas en las Indias*: his ill-starred career presaged by occult visions and consummated by his own wayward nature. And finally *La lealtad contra la envidia* exalts Fernando Pizarro as the hero of Cuzco, whose valiant exploits are repaid with accusations and prison, which he endures with stoic forbearance - his loyalty to the Crown unflinching - until liberty and his good name are at last restored.

Commenting on this cosmetic *tour de force* by Tirso, Arellano adds: 'En la resolución de los conflictos surgen las diferencias: Gonzalo es víctima trágica de un

adverso destino, mientras que Francisco y Fernando salen victoriosos'(1995: 353).

And returning to the question of the author's creative dependence on source materials, he notes that

> Para *Todo es dar en una cosa* toma Tirso detalles de *Varones ilustres del Nuevo Mundo* de Pizarro y Orellana, y de la *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos* de Hernando del Pulgar y los *Anales de la corona de Aragón* de Jerónimo de Zurita. Las fuentes de *La lealtad contra la envidia* son *Varones ilustres* de Pizarro y Orellana y la segunda parte de los *Comentarios reales* del Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, y para *Amazonas en las Indias*, *Varones ilustres*, y las crónicas de Zárate y el Inca Garcilaso. Fuentes que Tirso somete a la modificación poética, básicamente en la construcción de una significación "política" que no cabe desligar de otras circunstancias de emisión, especialmente el hecho de ser piezas de encargo destinadas a la exaltación de la casa de los conquistadores [...] Los protagonistas son personajes históricos que por medio de la elaboración dramática se convierten en héroes épicos, artífices de una serie de hazañas que [...] entran el los limites de la epopeya [...] . Desde un principio Tirso los dibuja con una perspectiva encomiástica, que no se limita al mero elogio o a una dramatización verista, sino que los presenta bajo una clave mítica que persigue la mayor glorificación posible. Épica y mitología se funden en una concepción dramatúrgica de la conquista y de sus artífices que el mercedario pone al servicio de la familia extremeña.
>
> (1995: 353-4)

Zugasti's work on the sources for the trilogy (1993: 61ff) from which Arellano's summary is taken, points also to the legal justification for the Pizarro's notorious exploits already present in the source material. For example, on *Amazonas en las Indias* Zugasti cites

> la influencia ejercida por *Varones ilustres*, que se manifiesta en la visión reivindicativa de Gonzalo, en la insistencia de que ostentaba el derecho a la gobernación del Perú pues Francisco Pizarro recibió tal cargo de Carlos V con el valor de dos vidas, y sobre todo en la presentación de Gonzalo como fiel adalid a su rey, lejos de las acusaciones que se le imputaron de rebeldía.
>
> (Zugasti 1993: 68)

The tendencies towards mythification, mingled with the penchant for legal exoneration, which are so evident in the trilogy, are entirely in keeping with the way in which playwrights throughout the corpus approach the exploits of the heroes of the Conquest. Also in common with other writers, Tirso's exaltation of the protagonist is invariably accompanied by the prosaic device by which criminality is deflected from

the protagonist onto less worthy Spaniards – either enemies or members of his own entourage. This trope has important implications for the dramatic representation of the Spanish presence in the Indies, wherever the actions of the invaders are depicted as falling short of the chivalrous ideal. Arellano speaks of the generality of New World plays when he says:

> La soldadesca soporta el peso de la indignidad y de los atropellos cometidos en diversos lances de la conquista. A ellos se imputan los defectos de la lujuria y codicia que siempre han acompañado a la visión que los propios españoles han dibujado del descubrimiento. Estas tachas de lujuria y codicia nunca están presentes en los grandes conquistadores (ya sean los Pizarros de Tirso, o Colón, Cortés, Hurtado de Mendoza [...] de otros autores), antes bien, castigan a la tropa por incurrir en ellas.
>
> (1995: 356-7)

Subsequent to making this vital point, however, Arellano too is distracted by an anachronistic interpretation of this theatrical trope – the corruption of Spanish other ranks. In this he follows Ruiz Ramón, who, in a generalised analysis, establishes a simplistic binary opposition between moments in the plays which champion the Conquest (pride) and condemn its abuses (shame), and goes on to suggest that

> aparecen mostrar en su misma génesis dramática una como conciencia dividida. Una conciencia donde resonaba el orgullo de la empresa acometida y, al mismo tiempo, una insobornable conciencia de culpa. Podríamos decir que, en realidad, estos dramas responden plenamente a la doble función del teatro: de una parte, la función celebrativa, que le permite a una sociedad afirmar sus propias creencias y estimaciones, autoconfirmando su visión del mundo y su ideología, difusa o no; pero también, por otra parte, la función conjuradora, la de conjurar los malos espíritus, las sombras y fantasmas agobiantes de eso que llamamos el inconsciente colectivo.
>
> (1989, 246).

Arellano consolidates this position regarding such scenes and then reinforces it by quoting Ruiz Ramón's rejoinder to Spain's detractors:

> Su presencia obedece en parte al reflejo realista de la conquista y en parte a la dinámica teatral que exige unos héroes y unos antihéroes. Según apunta Ruiz Ramón, el teatro áureo de tema americano tiene la virtud de no ocultar esta otra cara de la conquista y se convierte en caso único de país colonizador que permite oír las voces de la culpa: 'Voces difícilmente audibles en otras colectividades de entonces o de más tarde, las cuales, cuando colonizaron, no

> dejaron hablar en voz alta ni en sus escenarios públicos a la voz de su conciencia de culpa'.
>
> (1995: 356-7)

This erroneous conception of the Spanish presence on stage as a 'reflejo realista' of the Conquest correlates with the previous one regarding the Indians' supposed cry of liberty, and possibly has to be seen in the context of the latter, irrelevant, assertion by Arellano regarding the dramatic output of Spain's imperial rivals. Although Spain's admirable historical capacity for self-scrutiny is not in question, it should not be allowed to distract attention from the nature of the theatrical dialectic which may or may not purport to reflect it.

Equally simplistic is the vision of Polleross, who mentions the devastating effects of the publication of the engravings of de Bry but then makes a facile link directly to Lope de Vega, whose treatment of the Discovery in the theatre he completely misconstrues:

> La propagación masiva de la *Leyenda Negra* que culmina hacia 1600 en el texto e imágenes del libro de De Bry, probablemente constituye también el motivo de una reacción defensiva de la parte española en cuanto a la conquista y la conversión. Esta reacción se exterioriza en un primer momento en la literatura y en el teatro como por ejemplo en la obra de Lope de Vega *El Nuevo Mundo descubierto por Colón* (sic).
>
> (1992: 322-3)

(In fact, the approach of Lope in this play comprises, as we shall see, a ruthless interrogation of Spanish corruption, from behind the conventions of rhetoric).

In general, though, speculation of this type[40] has the effect of camouflaging evidence of contemporary attitudes available internally from the plays, which – although more obliquely couched – is far more secure.[41] And although the initial assertion made above by Arellano is quite accurate – that corruption is never attributed to the Spanish

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[40] For a similarly misguided interpretation of this play according to an assumed reaction to the "Black Legend", see Brotherton (1994).

[41] Brito Díaz also fails to challenge Ruiz Ramón (whom he quotes at length) and his over-simplification of the dramatisation of the abuses of the Conquest (1998: 415 note 12).

masters, only to their subordinates - this, of course, removes the *conciencia de culpa* from the level claimed by Ruiz Ramón. That is to say, the plays do not show *prima facie* soul-searching, so to speak, but a staged and highly manipulated representation of it - as part of a rhetorical process. A essential strand of the present study in fact consists of an analysis of the mechanism by which the depiction in the corpus of the pious protagonists of the New World Conquest (especially Columbus, Cortés and García Hurtado de Mendoza) is predicated upon the contrasting lust and avarice of their officers and ranks. It thus becomes part of the system by which those responsible for Spanish infamy – far from being exposed – are totally exonerated. In the chapters that follow, I discuss the way in which this mechanism functions primarily via the manipulation of the Indian presence on stage as an inscriptor of the virtuous/aberrant Spaniard - a role for the natives which places almost insuperable constraints upon the so-called "characterisation" of the Indians, and which only the most imaginative playwrights are able to transcend.

The Indians do frequently rail against the inquities that the Spanish have rained upon them, it is true, but this does not mean that they have been permitted a platform for expression which stands outside the rhetorical system responsible for their creation. The Indians share the same dialectical space as the Spaniards and their actions are inevitably assimilated into the metropolitan value-system – which in effect constitutes a "denial of difference". As a counterpoint to the trope of corruption among Spanish other ranks, I explore, in what follows, the way in which the Indians are made responsible for fomenting this corruption, thus further extenuating the circumstances of Spanish abuse. On a secondary level, then, the metropolitan *mea culpa* (in so far as it exists) can be shown to be neutralised. And although the plays do indeed perform the affirmatory function described by Ruiz Ramón, the *malos*

espíritus of the Conquest are conjured only for the purpose of exorcism, and the 'inconsciente colectivo' (in so far as this can be determined) remains unperturbed.

Such self-inscription on the part of the metropolitan creative spirit is not a new idea. In this regard, the theoretical framework I adopt in this study has already been well established by scholars. To begin with, I make the assumption that the notion of "denial of difference" always underpins the discussion of Indian Otherness. Carey-Webb adumbrates one of the most familiar bases upon which the generality of post-colonial discourse analysis has been posited. He begins by quoting the source for these ideas (Bhabha) directly:

> Once the liminality of the nation-space is established, and its 'difference' is turned from the "boundary" outside to its finitude "within", the threat of cultural difference is no longer a problem of "other" people. It becomes a question of otherness of the people as one.
>
> (1992: 425)

Carey-Webb is specifically addressing the context of Lope's *El Nuevo Mundo*, but this part of his analysis will equally serve that of the entire contents of the New World corpus:

> While Lope's perceptions of native Americans are drawn from the accounts of explorers and columnists, his "sources" do not provide transparent "truth" about the native peoples. These accounts, like the play itself, are "framed" in Spanish, European, and Western terms. The portraits of *indios* in *El nuevo mundo* [sic] are highly dependent on the complex history of *Spanish* and *European* religious, social, political, and rhetorical practices [...]
>
> I treat *El nuevo mundo*, then, as internally conflictive, inter-textually assembled, and socially, historically, and politically imbedded. In its fabrication of a colonised Other the play is an instance of colonial discourse, described by Homi Bhabha in pivotal terms and as 'an apparatus that turns on the recognition and disavowal of racial/cultural/historical differences' and 'a form of governmentality that in marking out a "subject nation", appropriates, directs and dominates its various spheres of activity'. While the recognition of the difference between a Spaniard and Indian in the play tends to highlight Indian inferiority and justify systems of colonial administration and instruction, in *El nuevo mundo* it is the complex "disavowal" of difference that most fundamentally marks the treatment of Native Americans. Even as forms of likeness may establish grounds for claims against empire or its "excesses", such claims are both *in* and *on* Spanish terms. Indeed likeness between Spaniard and *indio* in this play is crucial to the appropriating, directing, and

> dominating activities of a national as well as colonial government and power.
> (1992: 425ff)

In addition to this, my frequent use of the Gramscian term "hegemony" falls within the same frame of reference. If the willing acceptance of one social group's dominance and control by another is "hegemonic", I predicate my analysis of the artistic phenomenon of the New World plays as akin to the modern process described by Gitlin (in his analysis of the United States media) as:

> a ruling class's or alliance's domination of subordinate classes or groups through the elaboration and penetration of ideology (ideas and assumptions) into their common sense and everyday practice; it is the systematic [...] engineering of mass consent to the established order. No hard and fast lines can be drawn between the mechanisms of hegemony and the mechanisms of coercion [...] In any given society, hegemony and coercion are interwoven.
> (1980: 253)

Intrinsic to the transmission of this perception via the medium of drama is "trace". Throughout this study I engage the analysis of Indian representation within the New World by reference to this Derridean notion in theories developed by Paul Julian Smith. In his discussion of Golden Age drama Smith defines this as the subconsciously evolving impression left on the spectator by the actuality of performance as it engages the now partially effaced perception of what has gone before (the simple analogy made is that of the incision left on a child's magic writing pad as an old effort is erased and a new one begun). The process of trace is cumulative, subsuming other experiences related to the spectacle on view - other plays, related images and preconceptions. Smith notes that trace (*traza* in Spanish), derives from the vulgar Latin *tractiare*, "to drag". It is 'the path left by a body as it makes its way through space and time' (1988: 134). He further comments:

> The experience of watching a play is one of continuing and simultaneous inscription and erasure as character and action "write" on the spectator's memory. And the experience of "following" theatre as an institution is of a sequence of dramatic events in which each performance of the same or a different work displaces but does not entirely erase the memory of those which

preceded it.

(1988: 133)

Trace as an inscription can be overt and/or subconscious. In its overt form it is expounded in rhetorical theory and the ideology of creative processes. These are the means by which representation of character, plot, and language are constructed - a deliberate and ever-present agent in the formulation of audience perception. Thus, the playwright at the initial phase of composition will inscribe his creation at a rhetorical level, in a way intended to be apparent in the text. The theoretical framework which, for example, underpins Lope's approach to this is most easily discernible in that well-known exercise in rhetoric, the mocking, ironic tract, *El arte nuevo de hacer comedias*. In this text, while claiming to abandon stock classical precepts, because he is in thrall to the mob, Lope cites alternative, but equally distinguished, Horatian principles of rhetoric which guide his hand. These are the principles of the persuasion, or disuasion of the audience. According to Smith, 'vital to this persuasion are the "figuras retóricas", especially those based on duplication or uncertainty: "repetición", "anadiplosis", "anáfora", "adubitación"'(1988: 135). With this as his premise, Smith attempts to dismantle structuralist views of language and characterisation using as an example one of Lope's most frequently discussed works, *Peribáñez*. He disputes the "natural orality" traditionally attributed to the play, and argues that the "characterisation" of Peribáñez is an elusive but substantial idea. If he is an archetype then the many facets of his behaviour are in themselves archetypal: lyrical and literate in love; jealous regarding his *honor*; exuding gravitas when ennobled; and so on. Peribáñez is thus a rhetorical construct. As Smith concludes:

> Peribáñez as character is made up of a sequence of such superimposed and partially erased impressions inscribed in the memory and projected on or from the body of the actor. His role is contradictory because, like the trace, it is both a plurality of moments (action) and the impression left by those moments (residue). He has no "essential" status, for as the plot quite clearly

demonstrates, his career is underwritten by a cultural inscription which anticipates and precludes any intrinsic nature. Thus he is not merely trapped in web of social practices and discourse: he is actually constituted by those practices and discourses in all their multiplicity and incongruity. Lope leaves no space for either idealist or empiricist conceptions of character. And his multiple constitution (quite different to the New Critical "ambiguity" found by others in Lope) may be identified in its radical uncertainty with artistic decorum and ethical prudence. Lope thus has Peribáñez speak as is appropriate to his status at different points of the action, but it is that status which is properly undecidable from beginning to end.

(1988: 143)

And as Smith explains in broader terms in his introduction:

> Qualities often attributed to the post-structuralist text are reflexivity and undecidability. Reflexivity is the capacity of the text to reflect back on its own nature as a discursive construct [...] Likewise, undecidability [...] [in] post-stucturalist reading takes plurality of meaning to be the general condition of discourse as a whole.
>
> (1988: 4)

The ideas expressed above are fundamental to my approach to the discussion which follows, and form the basis of my conceptualisation of the process of characterisation and representation in the *comedia*. Although the Indians might appear incoherently drawn to the modern reader as they alternate, for example, between the status of stalwart warrior (preoccupied with fame and honour), and child-like *ingénu* (perplexed by mirrors or handwriting), I show that they too are inscribed figures with a "multiple constitution", and that the contrast they provide to their conquerors is essentially a process of mutual definition, a reflexivity contrived by the playwright, whose final objective is the "plurality of meaning" cited above.

* * *

With the range of interdisciplinary analyses described above, therefore, the wealth of comparative literary studies available, and a variety of models for colonial discourse analysis from which to work, there now exists an excellent basis for a

modern examination of the whole of the known corpus of New World plays. I have divided the thesis into four chapters of topic-based approach leading to a variety of case studies.

Chapter One is 'The Spectacle of the Stage Indian', which traces the transposition of the Indian of festival pageantry and allegorical iconography, to the stage of the *comedia.* I relate this vision to a work of triumphalist sculpture by the Leonis, and the semiology of modern staged spectacle according to ideas put forward by Barthes.

In Chapter Two; 'The Gendering of the Conquest', I compare the sexual metaphor of the iconography of the First Encounter as discussed by McClintock, with similar scenes from the corpus. This is a prelude to an analysis of the neo-allegorical or emblematic representation of female Indians in the corpus and their role in securing the inscription of the Spanish male hegemony or "closure". I define the latter as the secular and spiritual annexation of territory and people as ritually confirmed in the *desenlace* of any drama.

I then turn to aspects of the imperial ideology of Catholic Spain and the rhetorical populism of the *comedia.* Chapter Three, 'The Devil, Orality and Writing', is in two parts. The first is an analysis of the role of the Devil in the deception of the Indians via the filter of research by Pagden on Acosta and the origins of ethnology. I discuss the extent to which the depiction of the Indians on stage can be ascribed to their idolatry and its rituals, and in Part Two I analyse the demonisation of native orality and the conceptualisation of the all-pervasivenes of the satanic deceit of the Indians. The "performance" of the politico-religious *Requerimiento* both in history and on stage is then measured in literary terms against Lienhard's exposé of what he terms the "fetishisation" of western writing in the Conquest. I then explore the

interrogation of these issues by Lope de Vega, according to the notion (identified by McKendrick) of his manipulation of rhetorical "politeness".

In Chapter Four; 'Horror and Humour', I contrast the function of representations of scenes of horror and violence as perpetrated by Indians, as against those carried out by Spaniards. I return to the topic of staged spectacle and analyse the use of such scenes in "serious" and then "burlesque" mode, as defined according to theories of genre within the *comedia* developed by Vitse and Arellano. I link this to the carnival humour of Bakhtin and apply this to the comic treatment of topics of cannibalism and mutilation involving the Indians, and ask how this informs upon their representation in the corpus as a whole.

Chapter One : The Spectacle of the Stage-Indian

The term "theatrical representation" covers a multitude of contributory elements. The way characters are perceived on stage is influenced by they lines they speak, the costumes they wear, the properties or musical instruments they wield, the trace which has gone before them and the stage-space they occupy. It is arguable that, for the corpus under examination, the most immediate feature for audiences would have been the sheer force of its visual and auditory impact. The Indians are nothing if not spectacular, and their presence on stage is often punctuated by instances of display *per se*, special effects and noise. Many opportunities are afforded for them to invade the audience's space, parade their finery, sing, dance, make music, wage mock-battles, shoot, fight, stumble, fall, triumph or die. On stage they are seen to scale imaginary mountains, appear silhouetted against the theatrical sky, or carry their chieftains aloft on palenquins. They are unveiled in living *tableaux*: sometimes in decadent glory, or mutilated and dying. On occasion, they even appear as spectacular allegorical personifications of their continent or country. In sum, the dramatic trajectory of the stage-Indian can be traced in terms of what is seen and heard, as much via an assault on the senses, as in the more cerebral appeal of its poetry.

But what are the origins of these spectacular and auditory effects?[42] They are deployed in such prolific fashion by playwrights in the corpus, that it seems certain that they were very confident of the ability of their audiences to recognise and react to them.

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[42] For a discussion of these issues see Díez Borque (1978: 208ff), and Ruano de la Haza (1999: 37-68).

In this chapter I begin by retracing the origins of these sensory preconceptions and show how they are largely transferred to the stage from festival celebrations and iconography: traditions which were themselves the subject of intense cross-fertilisation of ideas, and from which writers could not exempt themselves. Their infiltration of theatrical spectacle and the allegorisation of the New World encounter in the plastic arts had implications for the representation of Indians by actors on the stage, whose emblematic (as opposed to merely functional) presence in the *comedia* reached sophisticated levels.

Inextricably bound up with festival tradition and iconography was allegory, the transient elements of which were permanently secured in triumphalist architecture and statuary. I cite examples of the manner in which these Indian images were organised in extending existing allegorical representations of the known world to include four continents rather than three, or as motifs embodying the opposition between the Old World and the New. I also refer to the variety of associated emblematic fauna, weaponry and ephemera attaching to them (Sebastián 1992: 16-21).

The role played by triumphalist imagery in popular pageant and iconography in the absorption of New World exploits into the pantheon of victories of the Spanish *monarquía* is crucial, and once defined, it provides the correct context for an analysis of the same process as it is undertaken in the *comedia.* In the first part of this chapter, therefore, I identify the anxiety to characterise the representation of the Conquest in the Indies as on a par with exploits in the Old World.

* * *

What people actually saw when the idea of America was organised and presented to them as the sixteenth century progressed is already well documented in research into iconography. Heikamp (1976) surveys American objects of art in Italian Renaissance collections, and Robertson (1976) offers a valuable insight into Mexican Indian art seen through the Atlantic filter, but these scholars are essentially writing from the point of view of ethnographical history, and often express their frustration at the inaccuracies which, conversely, are of so much interest to the present study. The required contextualisation of these distortions has been initiated by Sturtevant however (1976), as he enumerates and reproduces many of the depictions of natives and territory (maps) in circulation in the sixteenth century, and much of this area of investigation has been developed elsewhere by Milbrath (1989), this time embracing three-dimensional work, frescoes, jewellery, and the like. These studies also provide an insight into the ubiquitous nature of allegorical depictions of America as part of a drive to represent imperial domination on an inter-continental scale. We have access to first-class reproductions of many such images, thanks to Honour's lavishly illustrated works, *The New Golden Land* (1975) and the catalogue of a major exhibition of American iconography, *The European Vision of America* (1976), accompanied by analytical commentaries and documentation. Sebastián's *Iconografía del indio americano: siglos XVI, XVII* (published in 1992) makes a brief mention of another aspect, Satanism, which is also explored by Jean-Paul Duviols in *Visions infernales dans l'iconographie relative à l'Amérique* (1996).[43] This article examines European projections of their own vision of the Devil onto the religious practices and artefacts of the Indians. And in linking context to impact, Stannard has documented, in 1991 and 1992, the cumulative effects of European propaganda - including

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[43] Dr. Luis González drew my attention to articles by Jean-Paul Duviols (1996) and Pierre Duviols (1996).

iconography - hostile to the New World natives.

The (indispensable) volume edited by Chiapelli in 1976 has provided the best short study of the impact of festival celebrations on the popular imagination. Boorsch lists a range of pageants in Western Europe featuring Indians, and supplies many acute observations as to their social and imperial function. More recently, the collaborative effort by Laferl, Somer-Mathis, Chavez Montoya and Polleross, *El teatro descubre América: Fiestas y teatro en la Casa de Austria (1492-1700)* (1992) has established a substantial and detailed platform for discussion of these closely-linked areas, particularly in the section written by Polleross, entitled *América en las artes plásticas* (1992: 273-326).

As a backdrop to these resources, Shergold's standard work, *A History of the Spanish Stage* (1967) remains invaluable, and goes further than its title suggests with indications of the kind of popular spectacle involving Indians which were likely precursors to the vision of the New World native in the *comedia*. He makes reference to many celebrations, jousts, tournaments, pageant floats and other staged events (such as musical interludes and choreography) instrumental in bringing iconographic detail to life for the spectator, and which existed both prior to, and alongside, those aspects of the *comedia* that might be termed "set-pieces". Finally, two recent articles - by Zugasti, *La alegoría de América en el teatro barroco español hasta Calderón de la Barca* (1996), and Simson, *La función del alegoría en las comedias de temática americana en el Siglo de Oro* (1998) - supply concrete examples of how metaphorical personifications were conceived for the stage, some aspects of which will prove useful in the context of the present discussion, and which are pursued in the next chapter.

An analysis of the constituents of popular spectacle shows that spectators at

these events throughout Spanish Europe shared many tastes in common.[44] (Boorsch 1976: 503ff, Shergold 1967: 262). Royal entries, festivals, *Corpus Christi* street theatre, the spectacular effigies of the Easter *pasos*, gave all an opportunity to gaze upon, and to a certain extent, participate in them. At the same time, the medieval legacy of carnival continued to erase the distinction between spectators and performers. The great levellers that festival celebrations represented, ensured that the intelligentsia as well as the uneducated received a picture of the Indians among a proliferation of familiar Others. Such images were often conceived in a manner which invites comparison to traditional English pantomime or the *disfraz* still popular in present-day *fiestas* in Spain. That is to say, they represented a clutter of incongruous signals aimed at transmitting the idea of Otherness: simplistic, reductive, and transferable, featuring a strong element of symbiosis between stereotypes, with the question of ethnological verisimilitude not arising.

The fact that Indians became established as exotic stereotypes, however distorted, meant that they also played an important epistemological role for onlookers (Boorsch 1976: 508). They acted as a kind of street-encyclopaedia – an open-air counterpart to the *wunderkammer* - a chance to peer through a glass darkly at visual parodies of rumoured phenomena.[45] It is not difficult to imagine the impact on the credulous mind of would-be natives alongside the genuine article transported across the Ocean Sea and made to exhibit themselves among a panoply of fabulous birds and animals, and new, strange substances. In an age when information transmission was extremely limited (even among sections of the elite), the importance of spectacle, the evidence of one's own eyes, the thrill of witnessing the alien unknown, cannot be

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[44]See Díez Borque (1978: 171ff), Díaz Plaja (1994: 278ff).
[45]See Shelton (1994) on Renaissance Collections. I am grateful to Professor Nigel Glendinning of Queen Mary for drawing my attention to this article.

overstated. The function of this kind of display for the unlettered was crucial. For common - overwhelmingly illiterate – people, processions and celebrations were to provide virtually all their reference points for a visual conceptualisation of an Indian taking a place among other familiar exotics such as Turks, Wildmen[46] and Ethiopians. These appeared often in absurd configurations of Otherness, effecting a impressionistic chaos of the-greatest-empire-the-world-had-ever-seen. An endless stream of savage vassals and new souls was claimed for the Faith in the *monarquía*'s streets and public monuments. The powerful bombarded the subservient with endless hegemonic images - projecting the permanence, rightfulness and naturalness to which all authority aspires. Sculpture, paintings and drawings of the inhabitants of the New World abounded in statuary, permanent triumphal arches, and tombs. In the streets and squares where parades passed, mannerist figures of vanquished peoples stared out menacingly or cringed at the feet of their conquerors.

The Spanish had a penchant for flattering allusions to the glory of the Roman Empire and the concomitant allegorisation that these presentations came to incorporate. The aping of a Roman triumph was in fact the intrinsic feature of a Renaissance pageant, especially the habit of parading prisoners as representatives of conquered countries (Polleross 1992: 280). These figures might even feature in *carros triunfales*, an inspiration taken from Antiquity (but which in fact owed more to the literary *trionfi* of Petrarch). The effect of this tendency was to render mock-Indians and alien Others indistinguishable from their allegorical roles. And as such, complementary depictions of vanquished peoples would appear on innumerable triumphal arches or in live *tableaux* representing their subordination in metaphorical

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[46] On the figure of the European Wild Man see Robe (1972), Mazur (1968, 1970), Antonucci (1995). I am grateful to Professor Alan Deyermond of Queen Mary for drawing attention to the importance of the theme of the medieval Wild Man and to the research by Mazur. My thanks are due to Dr. Miguel Zugasti for indicating the work of Antonucci.

terms. Festival celebrations also took the form of tournament re-enactments of victories in war (including episodes from the Conquest) alongside scenes from books of chivalry, the Bible, and the lives of saints.

The staging of mock battles in this period gives a clue as to how the Indians were perceived as opponents in the field. Their function was to transmit or reinforce received versions of historical events, the outcome never being in doubt, nor the status of the adversaries. Shergold cites a 1571 staging of Cortés's capture of Montezuma:

> It began with a song by a *truhán* recounting the event, and more than two hundred men in Indian head-dress took part in it. A painted tent represented the house of Montezuma, in which he and his lords received the amabassador of Cortés, and the representation ended with a mock battle in which the Indians took fright on the discharge of artillery and Montezuma was captured and placed behind Cortés on the latter's horse. Cortés and the others then carreered up and down with lighted torches in their hands.
>
> (1967:243)

This event, very typical of representations of victories over foreign adversaries, depicts the Indians as warlike, but ultimately defeated. Given that the *truhán* has already summarised the contents of the spectacle about to take place, it is worth considering what purpose is fulfilled by an event of this type. Although theatrical in spirit, it cannot be called a play. Nor does the use of painted tents and the tandem gallop on horseback further suggest that historical reconstruction is the primary purpose (even within the very loose terms within which historicity might be defined here). The theme of such spectacle is the reaffirmation of Spanish victory over huge numbers of primitives (signified by their universalised headdress). The mock battle provides the centrepiece (and presumably the most gratifying element) of the event. The final gallop with Cortés and Montezuma astride the same horse, apparently gratuitous, aspires to the kind of closure which portrays hegemony: the domination of the ruling power with the acquiescence and connivance of those it subordinates. In other words, it is not intended that the spectacle should challenge assumptions or

provide new information. As an event it is clearly codified so as reassure the spectator within very familiar parameters: their compatriots are mightier and braver than their heathen opponents, despite overwhelming numbers. The establishment of a cornerstone of the Christian empire is reaffirmed. In other words, it fits perfectly with general observation made on such festivities by Boorsch:

> Where there is treatment of the realities of the New World, it is on a very superficial, usually abstract or symbolic, level. Most appearances of America have nothing to do with the realities. This should not be surprising; a festive or ceremonial occasion is seldom a time for examining profound questions, and as far as the New World was concerned, not very many people had even formulated such questions.
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> Festivals, whether public, royal entries or processions, [...] or private, for the entertainment of a court, may seem a small part of life. And yet for an illiterate populace, and indeed for many at court, they were a principal source of cultural information: they show us what was thought by some and taught to others. Their content is thus an accurate reflection of the answers a pollster would have received, had he been there to ask a random sampling of the population: 'What comes to mind when you hear the word "America"?'.
>
> (1976: 512)

In general terms then, the epistemological function of pageant and iconography regarding the New World Indians, was to represent or personify concepts such as the universal empire, Spanish hegemony, or pagan idolatry. As such, the Indies came to be seen as the location of the proselytisation of the Faith, a second front to the Counter-Reformation in Europe, or a place of unlimited wealth, savagery, primitivism, and cannibalism.[47] However, an examination of specific examples of the manner in which the Indian is represented in these kind of events betrays certain paradoxes. There appears to be a twin-strand process of development at work: a fusion of Indian Otherness and Old World pagans and *salvajes*, is set against an apparently contradictory tendency to assimilate all Indian tribal differences into a coherent, unified vision of a representative New World type. This latter strand

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[47] On the subject of the Indians' cannibalism, see Simson (n.d.: article in press). I am grateful to the author for allowing me to see an advance copy of her article.

reaches its formal apogee in the development of an allegorical personification of America, which then assumes its role as a vassal continent. But though the formalisation of allegorical figures may seem to be in conflict with the chaos of street pageantry, the two strands are eventually entwined. In the supra-allegory which encapsulates both the Old World and the New, there emerges vision of a universal Spanish Empire and its hegemony over an archetypal pagan savage – a representation, in other words, of a vassal world, the *monarquía universal*.

In the discussion that follows, it is the evolution of this abstracted personification of all primitive conquest which is of paramount interest. I demonstrate how, by virtue of its formalisation, this supra-allegory mimics the transference of alien attributes, the inter-changeability of Otherness so apparent in popular celebrations.

* * *

Immediately following the Discovery, this process was seamlessly subsumed into the tradition of pageantry. The Indians were the object of profound curiosity in their own right, and Europeans had, in fact, seen them in the flesh when they were brought back from the New World to metropolitan centres throughout the sixteenth century. But even at the earliest stage, their appearance was organised so as to realise prejudices which might satisfy the spectator rather than provoke interrogation or investigation of what was on show (Stannard 1992: 66). The Indians were corraled into exhibitions of exoticism which arrayed indiscrimate accoutrements and fauna aimed at pleasing the onlooker. Columbus had transported natives from the Caribbean for display in Barcelona (Boorsch 1976: 508) and then Seville, where they were witnessed by Las Casas in 1493:

> Las Casas inspected the seven surviving Indians, very beautiful green and red parrots, masks and belts of very fine gold, and precious stones. But what most attracted the attention of the future bishop of Chiapas on this occasion was a ball, as large as a jug, which bounced twice as high as the balls used in soccer, and continued to do so for a quarter of an hour. This ball had been made by the Indians with the juice or latex of a tree (the *hevea*) that grew in Española and other hot lands.[48]
>
> (Giménez Fernández 1971: 68)

In time these examples of the pagan savage in child-like, innocent mode - dancing or playing with a huge toy made from an unknown substance - assumed a universality of their own. "Indians" in pageants became visual parodies of an Indian presence. A triumphal procession of Indians for the Emperor Maximilian demonstrates the irrelevance of ethnographical accuracy as this process gets underway. They are described by Sturtevant from drawings made between 1516 and 1519:

> Two are women wearing feather skirts and crowns, one carrying a pet parrot and the other a pet monkey. The men wear complex feather decorated skirts and feather crowns which are the modern Brazilian Indian "radial crown" or "horizontal diadem" types (rather than the "vertical crown" or "vertical diadem" shown in other early pictures of Brazilian Indians). Five of the men carry large clubs, the standard Tupi paddle-shaped type even to the proper fur and feather ornaments around the proximal ends of the shafts. Two hold bows which could be English longbows, but they also carry seven long arrows with heavy fletching as Tupinamba arrows were [...] the people themselves do not look Indian, and two are even bearded.
>
> (1976: 421)

It was, of course, almost impossible for Europeans to resist the impulse towards embellishing Indians' representation, or at least towards redefining the context in which the natives were to be perceived, in an approximation of Old World or European preconceptions. The original commission according to Maximilian for the pageant was that the participants should be 'One rank with shields and swords. One

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[48] Shergold speaks of a pageant from 1570 to greet Anne of Austria at Burgos. Accompanying triumphal arches treating themes from Spanish history were dancers and performers including a car 'containing an Indian chief [...] preceded by twenty-four Indians playing with a huge ball'. He also notes accounts of Indians playing with 'una pelota muy grande del grandor de dos cabezas, hecha de cuartos de colores' and "real" Indians playing their ball-game at Seville in 1526 (1967: 242). Unfortunately, the corpus reflects no trace of this.

rank with spears. Two ranks with English bows and arrows. All are naked like Indians or dressed in Moorish fashion. They shall all be wearing laurel wreaths' (Sturtevant 1976: 421). Because the origin of this type of confusion lies in the intention to represent the universality of imperial power (Polleross 1992: 280), such a design brief was bound to invite transference, and associations were regularly made between a variety of Others for celebratory purposes. For example, Indians also appeared alongside European Wild Men in a tournament at Seville in 1617 (Shergold 1967: 259), thus reinforcing ideas (or rather, misconceptions) which were to surround their image as they took on the characteristics of the *salvajes* of folklore, including even their beards (Dudley/Novak 1972, Ashcraft 1972 149ff). This was reflected in other media: Polleross, referring to engravings for wooden reliefs of Indians made as late as the 1550s, notes that 'los indios vencidos no sólo aparecían caracterizados como fieros antropófagos sino que – a pesar del conocimiento que ya se tenía – se les presentaba dotados de las barbas de los *salvajes* (1992: 299). And in an example of the durability of this mutual interchangeability, the marriage of the Spanish *infanta* María Teresa to Louis XIV a century later (1659) celebrated her entry into Paris with a parade by 32 *gremios*. Each had fifty men playing the role of the peoples of the world, with bakers as Moors; cooks as Turks; confectioners as oriental Indians; tanners as Chinese; smiths as Spaniards; and American Indians represented by cobblers dressed as Wild Men (Polleross 1992: 309).

A pageant or celebration was a rare opportunity for spectators to visualise their fantasies as the Indies afforded a glimpse of otherwise unimaginable riches. When Ferdinand of Austria, younger brother of Philip IV, made his entry into Antwerp in 1634 as the new governor of the Netherlands, the designs for Rubens's decorations included a mock-up of the legendary silver mine at Potosí, depictions of the Golden

Fleece, and 'festoons of coins' (Boorsch 512). But it was not the mere imitation of loot which characterized decoration; many artists and designers fused the concept of the mineral wealth of the New World with its exotic inhabitants. The objectification of this fusion was routinely the body of the native himself. Boorsch reports that a painting of Indians which adorned the funeral of Philip II in Florence showed them bedecked with jewels and riches (1976: 509). [49]

In tandem with this generalised exoticism, tribal differences between types of Indians became completely erased for the purposes of public display. According to Milbrath, 'Tupinamba costumes became standard for images of Amerindians, and even the Aztecs were so depicted on the title page of a 1523 Latin edition of the second letter from Cortés'(Milbrath 1989: 194). And in so far as they were differentiated at all from other exotics, Europeans conceived of Indians in a standard costume of a feather skirt and headdress, sometimes with feathers also on chest, arms and ankles (Boorsch 1976: 504). For the purposes of allegorical representation, such signifiers were crucial, and the depiction of the Indian figure became completely stylised. For example, in exaltation of the world-wide empire of Charles V and Philip II, for the 1594 entry into Antwerp of the Archduke Ernest, the triumphal Arch of the Lusitanians features a semi-naked native in feather or leaf skirt, holding an arrow, a club, and what appears to be a sling as he sits on the back of an (outsized) armadillo. Beneath him is the legend "Brasilia". He shares the podium with other exotic vassals: "Mauretania", "India", "Æthiopia", and wears a laurel crown (Boorsch: 509).

In the second half of the sixteenth century allegorical images like these in Europe concentrate on female nudity - at a time when "white" female nudity was not

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[49] The emblematic and purely Eurocentric status of this embellishment is perhaps best testified by the complaint it provoked from an 'anonymous Florentine censor [who] objected to the way the figures were dressed, saying that the riches and jewels would have been more appropriately shown as attributes of the land discovered by the Florentine Amerigo Vespucci' (Boorsch 1976: 509).

commonly depicted in Spain (Checa 2000: 364). This could only have served to reinforce the exotic allure of primitive alien women, bedecked in feathered accoutrements, with symbols of wealth, (such as minerals, precious metals, pearls or gems) and weapons (bows and arrows). Murals, frescoes and icons in various media propagated the idea of Indians in feather headdresses and skirts, carrying chieftains on litters, in the style of the Orient (Milbrath 1989: 205). These are often accompanied by a menagerie of exotic fauna. There are the standard parrots and monkeys, but alongside them are also rhinoceroses. and emblematic animals (Milbrath 1989: 206-7). These last vary from the armadillo to the llama, and eventually, the alligator, which finally emerges as the the representative beast of the continent, and counterpart of the African lion, the Asian camel and the European horse (Milbrath 1989: 206).

One intriguing allegorical scene reported by Milbrath is one of Vespucci discovering the New World depicted as a nude female "America" in a hammock, surrounded by exotic animals, with cannibals roasting human flesh in the background (1989: 206-7). (This image is the subject of a detailed analysis in the next chapter. As we shall see, it is a potent sexual symbol).

Images of this type were so commonplace that a prescriptive tract was published detailing the correct representation of the allegorical Indian in the influential creative manual *Iconologia* by Cesare Ripa in 1593 (Sebastián 1992: 18, Zugasti 1996: 453). It contains an image of America depicted as a

> mujer desnuda y de color oscuro, mezclado de amarillo. Será fiera de rostro, y ha de llevar un velo jaspeado de diversos colores que le cae de los hombros cruzándole todo el cuerpo, hasta cubrirle enteramente las vergüenzas. Sus cabellos han de aparecer revueltos y esparcidos, poniéndose alrededor de todo el cuerpo un bello y artificioso ornamento, todo él hecho de plumas de muy diversos colores. Con la izquierda ha de sostener un arco, una flecha con la diestra, poniéndose al costado una bolsa o carcaj bien provista de flechas, así como bajo sus pies una cabeza humana traspasada por alguna de las saetas que digo. En tierra y al otro lado se pintará algún lagarto o un caimán de desmesurado tamaño.
>
> (quoted by Sebastián 1992: 18)

Ripa gives similar prescriptions for the other continents, in keeping with much staged, visual celebration and iconography of the World Empire. This tended to include the stylised Indian as part of a panoply of conquest, usually with a representative nation as synecdochic of the continental whole, retaining stereotypical clues as to the primitive nature of the aboriginal vassals via deployment of animal costume, stage properties and other signifiers. The canonisation of St Ignatius Loyola in 1623 featured the four continents and "American dances", including one in which children were disguised as monkeys and parrots (Boorsch, 1976: 507). Polleross reports on a Florentine triumphal arch of 1539 showing the Emperor with personifications of Spain, Mexico, Germany, Italy and Africa (1992: 280). Similarly in 1526, for the wedding of Charles V in Seville, a triumphal arch was erected with men and women 'vestidos a la romana, a la española, a la alemana, a la moresca, & a la indiana con sus insignias', these last being the national costume - and as such emblematic - of peoples under his dominion (1992: 280).

Creative spirits began to refine allegory so as to abstract it away from specifically geographical references, and aim for a symbolic icon of the counter-reformation in Europe or a depiction of the conquest of barbarism and paganism in Africa, Asia and the Indies. This gave rise to a discernible tendency to associate Moorish or black African with Amerindian physical features, costumes and properties. A funeral procession for Ferdinand of Aragón in Brussels in 1516, for example, saw the juxtaposition of 'indios y moros enmascarados como representantes de los territorios recién conquistados' (1992: 281) with men dressed as Indians riding unicorns (1992: 297). A procession of 1600 is reported by Shergold to have included Montezuma and Cortés, but placed alongside a 'dance of cranes that clicked their bills

to the sound of music, and another dance of little negroes "encima de unos torres que lleuauan unos hombres" ' among many other wondrous special effects (1967: 258). Shergold also mentions a mythological play, *Duelos de ingenio y fortuna* staged to celebrate the birthday of the king in 1687(1967: 350). It featured 'on one side of the stage a lady representing America, accompanied by a chorus of Indians, and on the other stood Imperial Spain and a chorus of Africans. These two groups performed a dance, intermingling one with the other'(1967: 280). Its first *mutación* consisted of reefs and groves of trees: that is, all natives being contextualised by "the jungle".

Elsewhere, in a bewildering example, a joust staged for the amusement of Philip II in 1554 had one of the *invenciones* featuring 'a horse disguised as an elephant, on which rode a dark-skinned driver, imitating in posture and dress "the Indians from African parts of the Ocean Sea" '(Shergold 1967: 238). This *tableau* might be read as a reference to Canary Islanders for, as previously mentioned, Lope makes no distinction at all between the eponymous natives in *Los guanches de Tenerife* and Amerindians in his New World plays. But in terms of its allegorical function it goes one stage further than the tendency outlined above by not only associating pagans with savages, Africans with Indians, and Old World with New; it fuses them physically into a single representative personification.

This is an important point in the present discussion: in 1628, following a description made by Lope de Vega, Rubens painted a monumental equestrian portrait of Philip IV, showing him in the role of defender of the Church. Protected by personifications of Faith and Justice, the role of the converted vassal is fulfilled by an Indian who, 'con sus rasgos negroides, personifica de nuevo las Indias orientales y occidentales' (Polleross 1992: 324). And Polleross also mentions a living *tableau* in which dark skin, even black features, are allocated to images of the Indians. For the

entry of the Cardinal-Infante into Ghent (1635) the representatives of the New World paying homage were described by an observer as appearing with 'sus cuerpos morenos y medio desnudos, cubiertos con plumas de colores'. An Indian woman depicted on an accompanying triumphal arch was described as follows:

> El pintor expresa esto así: la India, sentada, bárbara, o más bien sin cultura; esta vestida sólo en parte con plumas de diferentes pájaros. Cadenas de perlas rodean su cuello; brazaletes, los antebrazos. Labios gruesos, nariz respingona y grandes ojos redondos, diferencian su cara de la de un europeo. Como signo de crueldad, aparecen a su alrededor huesos mordidos de cuerpo humano.
>
> (Polleross 1992: 306)

It is not only the melding of the physical appearance of conquered pagans which communicates the universal quality of the empire. The demeanour of the vassal or infidel is intrinsic to his metaphorical subjugation. Polleross observes that

> Esta tendencia a la alegorización se hace más fuerte ... en Milán, en el arco triunfal de Giulio Romano, donde el indio a los pies del emperador Carlos V "figura la Tierras nuevas", mientras que el *Bárbaro Africano* y el turco representan probablemente a África y Asia; el emperador mismo a Europa.
>
> (1992: 280)

The position of the vanquished allegorical figure at the feet of the representative of metropolitan power was self-defining, and became a standard image. This might be embellished by emblems of captivity: an allegory of Land and Sea in an image of 1660 shows, prostrate at the feet of Minerva (Spain), 'dos indios encadenados' (Polleross 1992: 312). Elsewhere, Boorsch reports that 'the fête celebrating [Charles V's] marriage to Isabella of Portugal did include an arch showing Spaniards, Italians, Germans, Flemings and Indians at his feet' (1976: 509). And she cites an even more striking example of dominion which appears in 'the first illustrated Italian fête book showing the actual decorations, [which] commemorated Charles V's entry into Milan in 1541. He is shown as an equestrian figure, atop an arch with three vanquished figures on the ground: a Turk, a barbarian and an Indian, who is specifically said to

represent the New World. The text, in verse states: "Our age will be more rich and perfect / With the New World discovered and vanquished" ' (1976: 509). Mancini, in a reference to the most celebrated icons of the Emperor, describes this arch as

> presentándonos un coloso en forma de caballo, montado por el emperador, mientras aplasta a tres gigantes alegorías de sus enemigos. En esta representación confluyen dos tradiciones iconográficas que a lo largo de los años se revelerán determinantes en la definición de la imagen de Carlos V: la del vencedor pisoteando al vencido (Leoni) y la del caballero victorioso (Tiziano).
>
> (Checa 2000: 447)

It is the former of these two images which is now of interest, and gives the opportunity to draw previously mentioned strands together. Before embarking on a survey of how the *comedia* assimilates the image of the Indians from pageantry and New World allegory, I should like to consider the apotheosis of allegorical triumphalism as achieved in Leoni's celebrated sculpture, *Carlos V y el Furor* of 1551-53, which has been described by Coppel Areizaga as follows:

> Carlos V está representado de pie, vestido a la romana, con peto, espaldar, hombreras formadas por cabezas de león, banda cruzada anudada a la derecha, greguescos, sandalias [...] El Furor aparece como un hombre [...] desnudo, extendido a los pies del emperador en actitud de cólera y de odio, sosteniendo en la mano derecha una enorme tea encendida. La representación iconográfica [...] se ha relacionado tradicionalmente con los triunfos más famosos del emperador: la conquista de Túnez en 1535 y la batalla de Mühlberg en 1547. Sin embargo, la correspondencia de Leone Leoni ha dejado constancia de que se trata de una invención propia del artista donde quiso plasmar la grandeza y dignidad de emperador aludiendo al conjunto de sus victorias y de su vida como pacificador.
>
> (Lettenhove 1994: 102-4)

The image of the defeated enemy trampled underfoot became a staple one in Renaissance sculpture, and all the major artists turned their hand to it at one stage or another (Lettenhove 104). Leoni's effort took its inspiration from the first book of the *Aeneid* by Virgil, in which Jupiter proclaims that 'Nacerá un César troyano de noble estirpe, cuyo imperio se extenderá hacia el océano y su gloria hasta las estrellas' (quoted by Coppel Arieza in Lettenhove 1994: 109 note 24). This maritime reference,

and the details sublimated into the design of the statue have led to its association with the victory in Tunis, as Ferrer observes: 'bajo el ristre, un Tritón anguípedo alude al victorioso dominio del Imperio sobre los mares – y en particular sobre el *Mare Nostrum*, tras la conquista de Túnez' (Checa 2000: 262). Subsequent tradition has indeed attached these associations to the work, which has become an emblem of Spanish military prowess. The copy made of it in the nineteenth–century and placed in the courtyard of the Alcázar in Toledo specifically ties it to the African conquest.[50]

Despite this, Leoni's correspondence mentioned by Coppel Arieza indicates his insistence that the work was intended an abstraction of the imperial ideal: 'La figura del Emperador tiene debajo la estatua del Furor y no una provincia u otra victoria', he claimed (quoted in Lettenhove 1994: 108 note 2). In addition, on the key question of how the figures are posed, Leoni described both the Emperor and El Furor as 'apareciendo la primera digna y grave y con aspecto magnánimo, frente a la segunda, de apariencia tan horrible, que casi da miedo a quien la mira' (quoted in Lettenhove 1994: 108 note 2). As Coppel Arieza reports, however, this view of El Furor has not always been shared: the forthright opinion of Venturi was that 'la fuerza adversa [...] encadenada, aparece representada más bien como un esclavo casi domado, abatido, prisionero sobre la propias armas amontonadas' (quoted in Lettenhove 1994: 107).

The transcendence of the Leoni image (deliberately made racially unspecific by its context from Antiquity) resides in the variety of its attributes: the abstraction of its image of the conquered alien; the universalised physicality of the naked pagan; the

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[50] The copy of the statue is described as follows: 'En el centro del patio se colocó en el XIX una reproducción en bronce del grupo escultórico de León Leoni, "Carlos V y el furor", elevado sobre cinco gradas de piedra y un pedestal con bichas de bronce en cada ángulo. En el frente principal tiene una corona de laurel, detrás el escudo imperial, al lado izquierdo la leyenda 'Quedaré muerto en África, o entraré vencedor en Túnez', y al derecho: 'Si en la pelea veis caer mi caballo y mi estandarte, levantad primero a éste que a mí' (http://www.aplinet.com/toledoguia/turismo10.htm.).

limitless horizon of its vision of conquest overseas; the serene assurance it transmits of total victory; and the despair which accompanies complete subjugation. All these qualities, plus the immediacy and familiarity of its message, made it into a paradigmatic image of Charles V. Hence its appropriation as a commemoration of Mühlberg and Tunis, while still retaining the allegorical power to inspire imitation.

* * *

I now turn to a discussion of how the New World corpus mimics pageantry. I discuss the extent to which street-display can be shown to be replicated on stage and in the *patio*, and assess how far stereotypical attitudes towards Otherness transfer from iconography to the *comedia.* My aim is to disentangle the emblematic aspect of the Indians' presence from contingent considerations of their dramatic function, and thus avoid anachronistic or literal interpretations of their stage presence. I analyse certain dramatic postures adopted by Indians which may have largely emblematic - rather than figurative - significance. The analysis of the Indian image, and its allegorical derivatives, leads to a detailed case-study of the attempt – in one play - to equate victory in Peru with victory in Tunis. This is acomplished via the staging of a living *tableau* intended to evoke the spirit of Leoni's triumphalist sculpture. The play in question, Vélez de Guevara's *Las palabras a los reyes*, invests heavily in imperial metaphor, and I show how it draws together many strands from festival and triumphalist imagery in its vision of New World Conquest. I compare its *tableau* of Atabaliba defeated by Pizarro to the statue of Charles V and *El Furor*, and show how Indian physicality is melded with that of other aliens in an attempt to validate the Conquest of Peru by association with victories in Africa.

I follow this with an analysis of a complementary manifestation of plastic, bodily expression from another play, *Arauco domado*, which features the impaling of Caupolicán. This is an entirely different image of subjugation, which I filter according to the semiology of the modern staged spectacle of wrestling as discussed by Barthes. In approaching this I make reference to that other branch of popular procession, that of the Easter *pasos*, and demonstrate that, in similar mode, the dramatic characterisation of the Indian is suspended, as it were, so that his bodily presence can serve as metaphor for Christ-like suffering and redemption, this being a crucial subliminal element in his representation.

* * *

In considering the image of the Indian on stage, I have referred to the trace which has gone before. The allegorical iconography, celebratory pageants, street theatre and tournament re-enactments, alluded to here constitute vital elements of this in sowing the seeds of audience response. But how far did the playwrights of the corpus go in meeting their expectations? And what evidence is there of cross-fertilisation between the street and the stage?

The ethnological chaos of pageantry, the exoticism and animalisation, were soon to become an essential ingredient of the theatre. Here the associations implicit in festival presentations could be made explicit. They are replete with nostalgia, echoes of Antiquity, pseudo-primitive songs and dances, and crowd-pleasing spectacle. Examples taken from the corpus reflect the epistemology of the stage as essentially similar to that of the festival, but with important (and self-serving) reservations in the *comedia*'s articulation of differences between certain Indian tribes

and their qualities as opponents in war.

We can begin an examination of the corpus with a comparison to Boorsch's definition of a trend towards a standard Indian costume for display purposes, accompanied by a willingness to lump all exotics, barbarians, pagans and savages into a single category which is elastic enough to embrace Antiquity, medieval folklore and contemporary anxieties. Immediately apparent is the manner in which the cavalier integration of spectacle percolates easily into the plotlines of the dramas - a notable series of examples occurring in the first part of *El español entre todas las naciones* where the Tayronas, clearly identified as an Indian tribe, are led by 'Caloco su general', who is 'de color negro atezado' (Remón 1629: fol.18R). This motif is elaborated as the action develops. When Polonia, an escaped black slave (*cimarrón*) leader, describes Caloco as her new lover, it is because through 'su color / casi parece mi hermano'(1629: fol.19R).[51] And the sentiment is reciprocated when she allies her forces to his, which action by her he attributes to the notion: 'por ser tu de mi color' (1629: fol.21R). An exasperated description of both camps by a Spaniard as 'gente atezada' sums up this point from the European view (1629: fol.22R).[52] What the blacks and the Indians share is that they are not white, a sentiment best expressed perhaps later in the play when the doleful Polonia chides her Spanish lover: 'Por blanco me enamoraste / por negra me aborreciste' (1629: fol.25R).

The lazy association of aliens, and the habit of mingling the mankind of the margins associated with Old World fringe elements, are also present in the corpus. Fur-clad Wild Men and their associated attributes of paganism, lasciviousness, violence and cannibalism feature strongly in the New World plays. They serve to

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[51] On the typology of the *negro* in the *comedia*, see Weber de Kurlat (1970).
[52] A transient example of this kind of assimilation is also evident in *Los españoles en Chile*, where an Indian taken prisoner has the name Cacao (González de Bustos 1665: fol.21R).

signify primeval status and the repulsive rituals which accompany it. In the case of human sacrifice, a conjuration by La Idolatría of Manco Capac (the supposed ancestor of the Inca 500 years prior to the action of *La aurora en Copacabana*) has him clad in skins rather than Indian feathers: '*Abrese vn peñasco, y vese (un joven) vestido de pieles, recostado en vna peña*' (Calderón 1994: 144). This *acotación* represents something of an exception to the pageant rule that Indians wear feathers or leaves, and in the corpus seems to be a signal to the audience that the cannibal *topos* is about to make an appearance. More usually the Wild Man costume is reserved for those Europeans stranded in a wilderness, with the implication that they will risk reversion to savagery. (Thus, in a play set in the Old World, a whole tribe of lost Visigoths in Lope's parody of *El Nuevo Mundo* [53] entitled *Las Batuecas del Duque de Alba* features abandoned sun-worshippers who have forgotten the Faith and now appear dressed in '*pieles toscas*' [1900: 506]). This is also the case with doña María in *El nuevo rey Gallinato*, where she is described as '*vestida de pieles y el cabello suelto*'(Claramonte 1983: 182). But *Las palabras a los reyes* features Indians - cannibalistic Caribs - who prepare to roast and eat two Spanish prisoners:

> *Salen los Caribes con pieles, al son de vn caracol, y Mancopol capitan, y Gualeva dama, tambien con pieles y los demas Galvan y Truxillo sin espadas.*
> (Vélez de Guevara n.d.: fol.11V)

Similarly, just as the splendours of Rome serve as the actual inspiration behind the triumphal procession, the plays also constantly make comparisons between the territories of Antiquity and those of the Conquistadors in order to elevate their achievements. Insisting on the criterion of scale, for example, the vastness of the Roman Empire and the European *monarquía* are set against the the empire of the

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[53] The edition of the Real Academia Española of this play points to the nature of the piece 'que en cierto modo puede considerarse su parodia' (1990: CXLII) and a subsequent *refundición* by Juan Matos Fragoso is actually entitled *El Nuevo Mundo en Castilla*.

Incas 'que mil leguas se delata' according to Cortés in *La sentencia sin firma* (Ávila 1652: fol.129R). Elsewhere *La conquista de México* has Cortés evoke the Ancients in order to bolster his own resolve, and to equate the Aztec Emperor with them:

> ¿Quién no mira que ya la inmortal fama
> desde su templo la publica y llama?
> ¿Qué fue Viriato o César fuera
> qué fuera Afranio ni el feroz Pratunio,
> qué de Alejandro o Pireo se escribiera,
> del gran Torcuato y del mayor Pompeyo?
> .....
> ¡Vamos a conquistar el grande Imperio
> antártico del indio Motezuma!
>
> (Zárate 1993: 239)

The sheer number of Indians overcome in the Conquest of the New World is also a factor in the image created of them within the *comedia*, which allows playwrights to articulate on behalf of the Conquistadors the anxiety that their exploits should be accorded the same credit as victories in Europe. This leads inevitably to the hyperbolisation of the odds actually faced. In response to his exhortations, Cortés's captains, alarmed at their lack of forces, point to the Old World theatre of war, where resources available to Charles V are much more favourable:

> Tapia: ¿A cien millones de hombres, dime, pones
> quinientos hombres mal armados?
> .....
> Fonseca: Si tuvieras aquí los escuadrones
> de Carlos en la Italia ejercitados,
> en Francia, en Flandes, Alemania, Hungría
> y Tunez (sic), fuera justa tu osadía;
> pero con seis descalzos es locura.
>
> (Zárate 1993: 240)

Cortés, of course, leads his men to victory against overwhelming numbers, and it is this knowledge of the outcome in the mind of the spectator which no doubt allows this dramatic trump card (vis-á-vis the European wars) to be played. In *Los españoles en Chile* by González de Bustos, the topic is reinforced by the attribution to the Indians of not only overwhelming numbers but also sophisticated techniques of European

warfare, weaponry and equipment. As García Hurtado de Mendoza exclaims to his officers:

> No os causa notable espanto
> ver, que sepan hacer fuertes,
> rebelliones y reparos,
> abrigarse de trincheras,
> preuenirse a los asaltos
> y jugar armas de fuego?
> No pudieran hazer tanto
> si toda la vida en Flandes
> se hubieran diciplinado.
> Diego Tan diestros como nosotros,
> manejan ya los cauallos.
> Pedro Mas es verlos como visten
> el duro peto azerado.
> (1665: fol.12R)

In sum, the playwright is suggesting that the Spaniards are here waging nothing short of a fully-fledged European war – a part of a relentless process of self-vindication throughout the militaristic plays of the corpus.

Allusions to Antiquity and Roman-style triumphalism are not just the preserve of the plays of Conquest however. The hagiographical *comedia*, *Fray Luis Bertrán* is conceived as a single component in a series of celebrations for his beatification (Shergold 1967: 445, 447-8). [54] In this respect it is the best example in the corpus of how the *comedia* specifically dovetails with street festival provision. A long *canto* which precedes it describes a procession of Valencian municipal guild members dressed in feathered hats alongside *carros triunfales* carrying a series of fantasy-Indians couched in terms of pagan mythology, with emblems depicting solar deities (Aguilar 1914:25-30). The elision of the parade of Indians with the triumphs of Ancient Rome is quite overt part-way through a description of a series of *carros triunfales*:

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[54] There is also a *loa* (Aguilar 1914: 31-5).

Dos damas Indias como garças bellas
por las hermosas plumas diferentes
.....
Ocupan otro carro, que para ellas
se labrò, con dos tronos eminentes,
do fuesse qualquier dellas semejante
al soberano Iupiter tonante
.....
Luego los Indios barbaros ferozes
salen con plumas tremolando al viento,
con saetas, con arcos, con guirnaldas,
con soles en el pecho y las espaldas.
(Águilar 1914: 28)

What is additionally apparent within the medium of drama is the capacity it shares with the tournament *truhán* for commentary upon the pageant's merely visual display. For example, speaking of a befeathered Indian to his companion during the action of the play itself, Luis asks 'Tu no sabes que las plumas / significan arrogancias?'(1914: 100). This feature is to assume importance in the analysis of the corpus, as Indian characters use speech both to discharge their own functional role within the plot and also to proclaim the significance of their role as emblematic or metaphorical figures in establishing the ethos of the play.

Also operating as an adjunct to display, both in the street and on stage, are primitive songs and dances, for which theatre provides the perfect vehicle. Many scenes in the corpus take advantage of this to embellish interludes already spectacular in their own right. The *auto La araucana* combines glittering apparel with pagan chants (again to the Sun-god):

(Salen cantando Fidelfa y Glitelda, de indias; Rengo de indio, con plumas, de la misma suerte, manta y flechas; Teucapel, de verde y oro, plumas de la misma suerte; Polipolo, de carmesí y con plumas delante, de la misma suerte).

(Cantan).

Guaipai, Guaipai,
Que el sol vive aquí;
Guapaya,Guapaya,
Que el sol aquí está.

(Vega 1917: 255)

Occasionally we are given a clue as to how these interludes are choreographed, and once again the overlap with festival processions is marked. At the climax of *La conquista de México*, contending pageants are allocated different zones of the theatre:

> *Música de trompetas y salgan por una parte los soldados de Cortés con arcabuces y cajas, y detrás los capitanes y Cortés a caballo armado, con banderas de España y Cortés con bastón; por otra parte salgan algunos indios e indias ricamente aderezadas; detrás, en unas andas llenas de cadenas y joyas, traigan a Motezuma en hombros y a los lados algunos indios con aventadores de pluma y músicos indios cantando y bailando.*
>
> (Zárate 1993: 253)

The impact of such display should not be underestimated. What is contained in a brief stage-direction, taking no more than a few seconds to read, in fact consumes a substantial portion of time on stage, even to the extent that parades, songs and dances such as these, are evidently conceived as some works' major set-pieces (along with pitched battles, live *tableaux* and special effects). As Ruiz Ramón puts it

> esta acotación muestra mejor aún que todas las demás, la importancia teatral del espectáculo en las representaciones áureas, síntesis de lo visual y lo auditivo, en donde la danza, la música y las vestiduras actuarían de consuno sobre los sentidos de los espectadores.
>
> (1992: 254 note 32)

One *comedia* actually re-enacts Columbus's first parade of Indians in Spain in terms highly reminiscent of the accounts quoted previously. The final scenes of Lope's *El Nuevo Mundo* feature the display of the first natives in Barcelona, described in an *acotación* as follows: '*Colón, en camino, seis indios bozales medio desnudos, pintados; un paje, con un plato de oro, y otro con papagayos y halcones*' (Vega 1980: 43). Once more, one perceives the cavalier assimilation of the Indians with Africans. In a note to this, Ruiz Ramón draws attention to the use of the word *bozales*: 'se dice del negro recién sacado de su país, o según Covarrubias del "negro que no sabe otra lengua que la suya" ' (Vega 1993: 327 note 77). (Elsewhere, Lope also conflates the

image of Africans and Indians in *El príncipe perfecto* which treats the discoveries of the Portuguese under John II as personified in the the black King Benoí, an Ethiopian from Gelofe, but who appears on stage 'de indio, con plumas en el tocado' [quoted by Weber de Kurlat 1970: 359]).[55] And linked to the mention of parrots and falcons is the association of Indians with items for exhibition. The subliminal animalisation of these examples is made overt in another play by Lope, *Los guanches de Tenerife*, when a Spanish officer proclaims that, in bringing back a native princess to his troops, 'Yo les llevo / un papagayo' (Vega 1950b: 75).

Reminiscent of the jousts and tournaments held in public are a variety of theatrical interludes, such as challenges and mock battles. Some of these events make imaginative use of the *corral*, as exemplified in *Los españoles en Chile* by González de Bustos. Here the author does not shrink from using live horses in pursuit of flamboyant effect, as this striking *acotación* from *Los españoles en Chile* makes clear: '*Sale Tucapel por el patio en un caballo en cerro con una liga por freno, estribos de cuerda, y un indio con una trompeta*' (González de Bustos: fol.12R). Here, astride a horse, from amidst the audience and in defiance of the assembled Spanish forces, Tucapel boastfully threatens that he could, if required, cut off the heads 'de cuantos / ahí se encierran [...] y todas se las llevara / a la cola del caballo' (1665: fol.12V). Not only are the troops being challenged here but - because of González de Bustos's enlargement of the theatrical space - the spectator also.

Shergold reports on two other ambitious uses of special effects by Tirso de Molina, the first of which is evidence of the transference which existed between the plastic arts and the plays of the corpus and refers to a miraculous intervention to thwart the Inca in battle, with the second involving Indian "witches" conflated with

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[55] On Indians and Moors in Lope, see Case (1993: 19).

the Amazons of classical mythology:[56]

> An interesting influence of painting on the arrangement of a 'discovery' is found in [...] *La lealtad contra la envidia*, in which Santiago, on horseback and in armour, descends on a cloud, a stage-direction also says that he is to appear 'como le pintan'. This play is the third of a trilogy about the Pizarro brothers in Peru, and in the second of these, *Las amazonas en las Indias*, there is a striking effect whereby two witches take hold of the *gracioso* by the ears and fly off with him, making a circuit of the *patio.*
>
> (1967: 231)

The *patio* also doubles as a potential battlefield in a similar incident which occurs in the climactic moment of part IV of *El español entre todas las naciones.* This culminates in a moving *tableau*, posed by the protagonist and his Indian adversaries. When two Indian chieftains ride up to the stage to challenge Ordóñez de Ceballos to a duel 'en aquesta plaça propia' (fol.33v.), they are persuaded instead to accept baptism and, according to the *acotación*:

> *Apeanse y suben arriba y arrodillados dizen.*
>
> Capit(e): Perdonanos grã Ceuallos
> pues que nos diste la ley,
> seruiremos a su Rey
> como leales vasallos.
>
> (Anon. 1634: fol.34R)

Ceballos graciously accepts their submission ('*Leuantalos*') and draws the play to a close in a symbolic affirmation of Spanish hegemony.

To sum up: it is clear from the plays that, to some extent, the *comedia* provides a natural extension to the kind of display and sounds witnessed in street pageants and celebrations. This continuation has an important epistemological function for the theatregoer. It reaffirms the undifferentiated visual and audible aspect of the Indians from wherever they originate in the New World. However, the additional capacity for elucidation endowed by the spoken word in the theatre is able to impart information about them which is ignored in pageants, such as the

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[56] On the medieval Amazon myth see Irizarry (1983).

exceptional ferocity of the Araucanian Indians. This is not to suggest that playwrights stray into recognition of tribal differences, however. The stage-Araucanians are merely a sub-type within the typology as a whole (the ultra-savage savage), whose creation merely serves to profile their pacifiers in even more flattering terms.

* * *

The representation of a mass of undifferentiated Indians in pageants leads, as we have seen, to the depiction of a single representative Indian who, through costume, weaponry, speech and gesture, can affirm metropolitan hegemony via allegory. Research into the role of allegorical Indians on the stage has recently been undertaken by Zugasti, concentrating principally on the *teatro breve* (1998), and by Simson in an article entitled *La función de la alegoría en las comedias de temática americana en el Siglo de Oro* (1998). The latter study embraces an analysis of figures such as El Demonio and La Religión, borrowed from the tradition of the *auto sacramental*, and which intervene in the *comedia*. Both critics identify the two sole appearances of an allegorical continent in the corpus, in works by Ávila and Vélez de Guevara, (although Simson also associates Lope's personification El Brasil with these). Some of the observations she makes about the use of allegory in the *comedia* are apposite here:

> Como toda alegoría remiten a una segunda nivel en la acción de la comedia. Ya la etimología de la noción alude a tal procedimiento: *allos* y *agoreuein*, 'un discurso que está más allá del que aparece', es el significado básico de la palabra. Así pues 'la alegoría dice algo y quiere decir otra cosa'. Por estos procedimientos la literatura alegórica estuvo dirigida exclusivamente a un cierto público, que podía entenderla, mientras que otros lectores quedaron excluidos del discurso[...]
>
> Estas personificaciones alegóricas – una de las formas posibles de la alegoría – son nociones abstractas representadas por figuras humanas integradas en la acción de la comedia. Lo más importante de ellas es su doble

significado: Juegan un papel dentro del plan de la comedia como figura, pero al mismo tiempo hacen referencia a un nivel abstracto, muchas veces ligado a una idea que determina el contenido y el mensaje de la comedia. Estas personificaciones se deben distinguir de las personificaciones sin significado alegórico:

> Se da una personificación alegórica [...] cuando la conciencia de una persona es disociable de la conciencia de que esta persona al mismo tiempo es personificación, o cuando la personificación recibe otro significado bajo el aspecto de la recepción (Kurz 1988: 59).
>
> [...] Son varias la funciones de las personificaciones alegóricas. En algunos casos solamente crean una figura con fuerzas sobrenaturales, para resumir lo ocurrido, a (sic) complementarlo o a (sic) predecir el futuro dentro de un monólogo.
>
> (Simson 1998: 306-8).

It is the potential of Kurz's idea that I exploit in what follows. The personifications Simson identifies in the corpus are primarily allegorical in function, with subordinate presence as characters in the drama that they comment on, predict or incite. In other words, by virtue of a series of signifiers already detailed (costume, weaponry, emblematic fauna, or idolatry) these characters enjoy a dual function which, although they are clearly intended as abstractions, preserves their status as Indians and a corresponding figurative role in the play's action.

A reference to the New World *autos* shows how the playwrights exploit this duallism and even articulate the dramatic licence which is conferred on them by the said *fuerzas sobrenaturales.* These dramatic items are, in themselves, conceived as popular religious events rather than *comedias*: the *autos La Araucana*, *Las cortes de la muerte*, and the *loa* preceding *El divino Narciso*, all fall into this category. Their status, as *autos sacramentales*, is at one with festival and street theatre. As such, their contents certainly comply with festival perceptions of the Indians. Two of the *autos* invest obviously in metaphorical conceptualisations of the Indians. The full title of the piece by Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz is *Loa para el auto sacramental de El divino Narciso por alegorías*, and it contains two specific *acotaciones* signalling the dual

identity of the native characters:

> *Sale el Occidente, Indio galán, con corona, y la América, a su lado, de India bizarra: con mantas y cupiles, al modo que se canta el tocotín. Siéntanse en dos sillas; por una parte y otra bailan Indios e Indias, con plumas y sonajas en las manos, como se hace de ordinario esta Danza; y mientras bailan, canta la Música.*
>
> (Cruz 1960: 3)

> *Salen la Religión Cristiana, de Dama Española, y el Celo, de Capitán General, armado: y detrás Soldados Españoles.*
>
> (Cruz 1960: 6)

In *La Araucana* the Indians are also indicated as straight substitutes for standard New Testament figures in series of stage-directions: '*Cuando cantan, vaya saliendo Colocolo, de indio, que parezca a San Juan*' (Vega 1917: 259), '*Mientras cantan, baja de lo alto del carro Cristo, en figura de Caupolicán, de indio, vestido famosamente*' (1917: 269). These include the Devil: *Sube Rengo en un dragón, vertiendo fuego*' (1917: 283). But it is the *loa* which articulates the function of allegorical personifications in drama, in an exchange between the *indio galán* (Occidente) and Religión, who replies to his request for instruction in the Faith:

> Pues vamos. Que una idea
> metafórica, vestida
> de retóricos colores,
> representables a tu vista,
> te la mostraré; que ya
> conozco que tú te inclinas
> a objetos visibles, más
> que a lo que la Fe te avisa
> por el oído; y así,
> es preciso que te sirvas
> de los ojos, para que
> por ellos la Fe recibas.
> .....
> De un Auto en la alegoría,
> quiero mostrarlos visibles,
> para que quede instruída
> ella ...
>
> (Cruz 1960: 17-18)

Crucial to the function of these abstractions, however, is the facilty to manipulate time

and space, which derives from their supernatural powers. This is questioned on stage (presumably on behalf of any sceptical onlooker) as Celo now asks asks Religión :

> ¿Cómo salvas la objeción
> de que introduces las Indias,
> y a Madrid quieres llevarlas?

Religión, who wishes the Indians to witness the performance of the *auto* in the capital, is instructive in her reply:

> aquestas introducidas
> personas no son más que
> unos abstractos, que pintan
> lo que se intenta decir,
> no habrá cosa que desdiga,
> aunque las lleve a Madrid:
> que a especies intelectivas
> ni habrá distancias que estorben
> ni mares que les impidan.
>
> (Cruz 1960: 20)

The allegorical status of certain characters, therefore, allows them to operate outside the limitations of time and space which are imposed by the dramatic plotline, and are even allowed to comment upon it and determine the ideological position of the action.

In the corpus, playwrights do make use of conventional allegorical figures in this way. To take one example of the collapse of chronological time that occurs in Ávila's *El valeroso español* (otherwise known as *La sentencia sin firma*). This play shows Cortés at court in Spain having to defend his conduct of the recent Conquest of Mexico in a monumental speech of no less than six uninterrupted pages of twin-column folio (1652: fol.129R-132R). This epic speech is intended to convince the audience (if not yet the Emperor) of the glory and virtue of his great exploit, and one by one, the false charges of corruption, extermination of the Indians, and - most serious - sedition, are refuted. Cortés's achievement is finally recognised in Spain after a campaign of vilification by jealous rivals. Charles V, having snubbed him

initially, is reconciled with Cortés via the judicious support of the Prince (the future Philip II). With Cortés now admitted to the pantheon of *los nueve de la fama*, the Emperor grants him the title of Marqués del Valle.[57] It is at this point that the allegorical figure appears complete with emblematic animal as an *acotación* reads '*Sale por un boquerón América, en un cocodrilo dorado*' (Ávila 1857: 580). (There is unfortunately, in this instance, no description of the costume and appearance of the figure of América, but given the appearance of the gilded crocodile, it seems likely that the personification would have had other elements in common with the allegory prescribed by Ripa above). Her role is to proclaim the glorious descent of the Cortés family up to the fourth generation, which in all probability was responsible for commissioning the piece around 1612 (Zugasti 1998: 462). As if the rehabilitation of the family name has now been accomplished, via the mechanism of the "prophetic" pronouncements of América, the action is now rendered contemporaneous to the moment of performance upon the stage. The allegorical figure thus serves as the direct link to the audience, and overrides considerations of geographical location. In this respect she operates in the same way as an emblematic figure in a festival or pageant, but with her additional capacity to declaim the imperialist encomium out loud.

We must now turn to a detailed study of the play in the corpus which invests most heavily in imperial metaphor: *Las palabras a los reyes y gloria de los Pizarros* (to give it its full title). This play represents the best example of the integration of the kind of pageantry, mock-conflict, allegory, and live *tableaux* detailed above. Its subject is the Conquest of Peru by the Pizarros, culminating in the capture and ransom of Atabaliba (Atahualpa) and the collapse of the Inca Empire, with the final scene

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[57] See Benedetti (1993: 9-11) on this play.

depicting the delivery of the territory to the Emperor Charles V in person. The date of its composition has been convincingly narrowed to between 1625 and 1630 (Zugasti, 1996b: 311, 1998: 462). It owes its existence to a wider propaganda campaign sponsored by the descendants of the Conquistadors to regain the title of Marquess, which was lost for two generations following the rebellion against the Crown of Gonzalo Pizarro (beheaded in 1548).

The action of the drama is the usual mixture of loose historical fact, mythologisation, and calculated omission. Its title is taken from a fictional incident in *Varones ilustres del Nuevo Mundo*, composed by a family member between 1625 and 1628 [Zugasti 1996c]). According to this, Fernando Pizarro is portrayed as having given a solemn promise to the Emperor in person that, in return for permission to travel to the Indies with his brother Francisco, he will bring untold riches back to Spain. Charles V accedes to his request, but not before reminding him that promises given to kings cannot go unfulfilled. Vélez de Guevara presents Francisco and Fernando Pizarro as paragons of loyalty and piety while avoiding any mention at all of Gonzalo's revolt and subsequent execution. And although the vast ransom of Atabaliba is triumphantly referred to in the play, the action terminates in advance of any portrayal of his real fate. (History records that upon his capture by Francisco Pizarro's forces in 1532, the Inca chieftain had agreed to fill a chamber to a height of seven feet with gold and silver artefacts in order to secure his freedom. When after a few months this was achieved, Francisco Pizarro reneged on his promise and had his adversary arraigned on spurious charges of treason and usurpation of the Inca throne. Having been found guilty, Atahualpa was baptised before being executed by strangulation in 1533 [Pendle1976: 44-5, Wright 1992: 82, Castleden 1995: 258]).

In tandem with these (perfectly valid) selective omissions by Vélez, another

level of historicity is introduced into the play as a glorious counterpoint to his account of the Conquest of Peru. The exploits of Charles V are interwoven with the action so that each (the Emperor and Pizarro) might bask in the reflected glory of the other. In 1535 Charles V undertook a successful expedition to recapture Tunis from the forces of Barbarossa, despite his preoccupation with the wars in Europe. And although the events of Peru and Tunis are distributed over a two-year period, Vélez manages to render them virtually simultaneous; first by skillful use of the oracular powers of an allegorical América, and second by eliding the defeat of Atabaliba in Peru with Fernando's announcement of it to the Emperor back in Spain. This is timed to coincide with the very day of Charles V victorious return from Tunis. The final lines of the play reflect the Emperor's delight at the Conquest of Peru and his rewarding of the brothers, thus depicting the very moment of investiture of honours that the Pizarro family is so anxious to regain.

The ideology of the drama is, therefore, as unashamedly justificatory as its source material. This mood is fixed for the audience early in the action by the intervention of an allegorical figure in similar (but more detailed) mode to the one witnessed in *El valeroso español.* It occurs at the Spanish victory on the island of Puna, when América (this time accompanied by an emblematic maritime creature) appears before Francisco Pizarro in a spectacular and immediately recognisable manner. The *acotación* reads as follows:

> *Tocan clarin, abren vna peña, y aparece America ... con vna media mascarilla de dorada y al rededor por tocado plumas rojas, y vn Sol en los pechos, con aljaua y flechas, y sobre vn Delfin, tocãdo vna trõpeta.*
> (Vélez de Guevara n.d.: fol.6v.)

Here the allegory is specifically equipped with the familiar accoutrements and signifiers of the Indian woman/warrior: feathers, sun emblem, quiver and arrows. Again, she fulfills the task of affirming the comparison between the protagonist's

exploits with those of the heroes of Antiquity, makes prophecies of events the audience already know to have taken place, and urges him to redouble his efforts in the Conquest (here summarised by Zugasti):

> refiere un largo discurso anticipatorio al héroe, que tras equipararlo con Colón y Cortés, y llamarlo 'capitán de Cristo' o 'nuevo Ulises', le asegura, que pasará victorioso a tierra firme y reducirá las plazas de Jamalca, Cuzco y Quito, además de derrotar a Atabaliba (Atau-Huallpa). Al final de su parlamento América le insta a Francisco Pizarro a que no desmaye, pues su empresa es útil para la Iglesia y para la corona: 'Por ti la fe se propague, / por ti las impíreas cumbres / de almas se pueblen, por ti / cuantas riquezas producen / en la línea equinocial / el sur y el sol [...] / a tu rey tributen'. La apariencia se cierra y Pizarro, ya solo, no puede menos que agradecerle los alientos que le ha dado y ratificarse en su empeño conquistador.
>
> (1998: 463)

This intervention is key to the rationale which drives these kind of sponsored dramas. In *Las palabras*, the allegory, having secured the prestige of Pizarro alongside his fellow-Conquistadors and his precursors in Antiquity, presages further victories in the eventual Conquest of Perú, if he takes advantage of the schism between the rival chieftains, Abataliba and Guáscar. In this, she has portrayed Pizarro as a harvester of souls and loyal vassal of the Emperor. But thus far she has restricted the context to the Indies. Then, pausing only to attack Pizarro's detractors (the 'embidiosos, que obscurecen / de tus glorias las vislumbres') she enlarges her field of vision to refer to Africa (thus elevating her own allegorical status to a continental level) but with a specific intention in mind: the assimilation of the Conquest of Peru to the most famous victories of Charles V. These, as América proclaims, have now been emulated by the achievement of Pizarro in fulfilling the promise of the family to the Emperor

> de poner sobre las nuues
> su nombre, entre tanto que
> no menos Africa ilustre
> con sus hechos le eterniza
> en la Goleta, y en Tunez
> .....

porque a sus Cesareas plantas
vn Orbe al otro le juntes.
(Vélez de Guevara n.d.: fol.6V)

Intrinsic to her role in delivering this encomium, allegorical América is at pains to declare her concurrent status as native archetype. She points to the stereotypical attributes she is about to renounce, as she welcomes the subjugation of her continent under the Spanish yoke, so that she may be rid of 'mis idolatras'; 'las barbaras costumbres de mis indios'; and 'la ciega servidumbre' (Vélez de Guevara n.d.: fol.6V-7R). Each of these is as emblematic of her status as the quiver, arrows and feathers she wears.

The prophecies of América also prepare the way for the huge set-piece spectacle at the end of the play. The final scenes of act III are carefully graduated in impact so as to culminate in the appearance of the Emperor himself. The process is initiated with an epic description, by a Spaniard, of the ranks of Indians on the march (in the manner of the *truhán* quoted above). In a speech which conjures the spectacle of festival procession, the soldier Galván describes the pomp and finery of the approaching army of Incas (who of course vastly outnumber the Spaniards):

Que hazeis, valientes Piçarros,
gloria de España? que en essa
campaña del Inga ya
se descubren las vanderas.
Para que pongan las plantas
parece que falta tierra,
dia para darles rayos,
y cielo para las flechas.
En medio del esquadron,
en vnas andas, que lleuan
los mas ilustres Caciques
del Pirù, el Inga se muestra.
Los demas Gouernadores,
y Cabeças de la guerra,
vienen tambien en hamacas
texidas de oro, y de seda.
Delante infinitos Indios
de la persona suprema

del Inga, vienen quitando
los atomos, y las piedras.
Y con tanta magestad
caminan y tanta flema,
que parece que en tortugas[58]
marcha esta maquina inmensa.
Ya assoman por este valle;
mirad, que hermosa cosecha
en el infierno este Agosto
Iudas y el Demonio esperan.
(Vélez de Guevara n.d.: fol.14V)

Delighted at the opportunity this affords for glory, the Pizarros rally their small band of troops, amid competing battlecries. Once again, we see a carefully choreographed entry by the contenders, with as many Indians as can be fitted in the theatre. This takes place on three levels, with full use made both of the courtyard, the stage and its rear, and with a cacophonous musical accompaniment and synecdochic confirmation of Galván's awe-inspiring report in the appearance of Atabaliba carried aloft on a palanquin:

> *Entranse los Españoles, y tocando caracoles, y almejas y otros instrumentos, entra(n) por el patio todos los Indios que pudieren, y Atabaliba en vnas andas; y ponen las en la mitad del patio en vn tabladillo; y salga Tucapela con arcabuz en las manos por vn monte.*
> (Vélez de Guevara n.d.: fol.15R)

Once again it is worth pointing to the considerable amount of time that this parade would have consumed, and the overlap with pageant that this represents. Atabaliba proclaims victory in advance only for the Pizarros to read him the *Requerimiento* (which he rejects)[59] and the two factions separate. A pitched battle now follows. The *acotación* can only offer an inkling of the noise, movement, and colour entailed, although it does show that it starts in the courtyard and moves up onto the stage. Unfortunately we receive no indication of its duration, except to presume that the

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[58] Probably a deliberately suggestive comparison to the legendary formation of the Roman army.
[59] This speech is the subject of closer examination in Chapter Three of this thesis.

description '*muy reñida*' must signify it having taken up several minutes. Even so, its climactic moment is choreographed in enough detail to allow us to conclude that is intended as a major set-piece:

> *Aqui primero del patio, y de arriba Indios y Españoles trauen vna batalla muy reñida, y despues entrandose don Francisco por los Indios, llegue a cuchilladas a las andas del Inga, y saquele por los cabellos entre todos, abriendo camino llegan Don Francisco, y don* (sic) *Fernando con espadas y rodelas.*
>
> (Vélez de Guevara n.d.: fol.15v)

This action is the precursor to the symbolic final pose adopted by Francisco Pizarro and Abataliba, which is emblematic in nature, as confirmed by Pizarro's victorious exclamation at the climax of the drama. The leading Indian character, Atabaliba, and his Spanish Conqueror adopt the transcendent posture of imperial victory and defeat reminiscent of the Leoni sculpture described above. It is the first of a series of references intended to equate the Conquest of Peru with those of Charles V over the pagan-beyond-the-seas:

d. Fran(cisco) A fuera barbaro
d. Fer(nando) A fuera
d. Fran(cisco) Barbaro, por los cabellos
te e de poner en la tierra

Echele en el suelo poniendo los pies encima, y huyan los demas.

date a prision, a las armas
de Carlos, del mundo Cesar.
.....

De adentro

Victoria, España.
d. Fran(cisco) El Pirú
Por Carlos Quinto.

(Vélez de Guevara n.d.: fol.15V – 16R)

Atabaliba, lying under the feet of Pizarro, still remains a dramatic representation of an Indian chieftain, and makes his last specific reference to the plot in his cry of

acquiescence: 'Sentencia / justa; por Guascar mi hermano / el Cielo a dado en mi ofensa' (fol.16R). Having thus completed his involvement in the action, it is at this point that the dual function of the allegorical personification just described becomes evident. Whereas the two examples of América referred to are abstractions with a figurative function, Atabaliba here undergoes the transition from figurative character to allegorical abstraction. This is to say, that the Indian character of Atabaliba now gives way to an allegorical personification of the defeated savage as is demonstrated in the very next, and final, scene.

Immediately the battle ends, the Peruvian location is transferred (complete with Indians) to Spain via an *acotación* which reads: '*Entranse todos acuchillando a los Indios y sale la Emperatriz, y el Emperador* (Vélez de Guevara n.d.: fol.16R). Her first words to the Emperor now underscore the recurring motif of the play: the juxtaposition of the conquest of the Old World and the New:

> Sea vuestra Magestad
> muy bien venido a su tierra,
> vitorioso de los moros
> de Tunez y la Goleta ...
> .....
> Pero ya que vencedor
> el Cielo quiso que buelva,
> dilate el Imperio suyo
> a la Region mas desierta.
> (Vélez de Guevara n.d.: fol.16R)

Fernando Pizarro now makes his entrance, bringing with him trophies of conquest in the persons of the Indians, including Atabaliba: '*sale don Fernando Piçarro, y toda su gente, acompañamiento, y el Inga y Tucapela*' (Vélez de Guevara n.d.: fol.16R). Atabaliba (Inga) takes the stage in Spain as a surrendered prisoner even though he is identified as having remained in Peru and been ransomed, thus confirming the location of the next part of the action as metaphorical and the presence of his character on stage as symbolic. Fernando signals the conflation of two great events: he refers to his

dash across the ocean with the "news" of the Peruvian Conquest and the symbolic coincidence of his own arrival in Seville with the Emperor's return from victory in Tunis:

> Menos que con nuevas tales,
> Carlos, no viniera a verte
> ni fuera de las espumas
> del mar en tiempo tan breue
> cometa, o rayo de espuma,
> pisando triunfante el muelle
> de Seuilla, el mismo dia
> que tu victorioso buelves
> de la Goleta y de Tunez;
> porque cumplen desta suerte
> los vassallos como yo,
> las palabras a los Reyes.

This final *tableau* is clearly envisaged as a platform from which Fernando can announce details of the Pizarros' exploits and announce the phenomenal extent of the treasure amassed. In pressing the claims of his family, he delivers the final encomium to his Emperor in specific terms of the *monarquía universal*, making the equation between the subjugation of the three continents of Antiquity and the four of today.

> Carlos invicto Monarca
> del mundo, ya el Peru tiene
> por don Francisco Piçarro,
> Español Vlises fuerte
> .....
> porque a este braço
> y al de Don Francisco deue
> el laurel Cesareo tantos
> honores, tantos valientes
> trofeos como deuieron
> a los Pirros, y a los Xerxes,
> a Cesares y Alexandros
> las tres ceruizes rebeldes
> del mundo, entonces rendidas
> a sus plantas tantas vezes.

The rationale for Atabaliba's actual presence in person on stage (as testified by the

acotación) quickly emerges. This presence is not intended to be taken literally, it is required to illustrate an important section of Pizarro's speech, in which he refers to Atabaliba's capture and subjection, and the amount of ransom that has accrued from this – a ransom which, in literal terms, would preclude his transportation to Spain. Atabaliba's "absence" is also confirmed by Pizarro's introduction of the Indian princess Tucapela in his place, awaiting baptism along with other *caciques*:

> Ya el Inga presso y rendido,
> y Guascar muerto preuienen
> nueuas coronas y mundos
> a tus Cesareos laureles
> .....
> para tus Cesareas plantas,
> deste mundo de oro viene,
> que fue rescate del Inga;
> y en quatro millones puede
> apreciarse ...
> .....
> Y por no nacer allá
> tambien no te traygo al Fenix;
> pero viene en su lugar
> Tucapela, del Poniente
> hermosa Fenix, y noble
> Cacica de Puna, alegre
> de llegar a vuestras plantas,
> para que dichosamente
> reciba de vuestros manos
> el Bautismo, a quien se se ofrece
> con otros indios Caciques.
>
> (Vélez de Guevara n.d.: fol.16R-16V)

So, Atabaliba takes his place on the stage in Spain 'preso y rendido' in order to signify the victory of Pizarro over the Inca, even though he has (fictitiously) been ransomed. Concurrent in the mind of the spectator is the associated vision of his annihilation at the feet of Pizarro, which recalls widespread images of the universal Emperor Charles V. The historical treachery of Francisco Pizarro in organising what amounted to the judicial assassination of Atabaliba, together with the calamitous fate of the insurrectionist Gonzalo Pizarro, are thus astutely camouflaged. An arresting

and familiar image of worldwide domination flatters not only the ancestors of the play's sponsors, but also the grandfather of the new king, Philip IV, to whose attention the propaganda campaign as a whole is directed. In this respect, it was unquestionably a successful contribution: in 1630, by royal dispensation, the Pizarros regained the title of Marquess.

To this end, therefore, the "characterisation" of the Indian is completely abstracted, and serves only as an emblem of universal domination, or like *El Furor* in chains under the heel of Charles V, as an allegory of the defeat of the pagan *plus ultra* and the securing of hegemonic closure.

* * *

The contrivance of the kind of visual triumphalism evident in *Las palabras a los reyes* is not the only manifestation in the corpus of the power of transcendent physical gesture. For example, in *El nuevo rey Gallinato*, the eponymous hero marks the triumph of one Indian chieftain over another thus: 'Aquí está, ponle los pies / sobre su arrogante cuello', this is followed by the stage-direction '*Pónele los pies encima*' (Claramonte 1983: 272). In the plays, as in the pageants, there are many interludes frozen into *tableaux* or captured by mannerist postures at critical moments of the action, often as a re-enactment of events which have long since passed into folklore, or form part of Christian or ancient mythology. Their fabled status and the certainty that all spectators are thoroughly versed in their symbolism, acts as a physical cipher for playwrights to realise the affirmation of universal truths as the audience might perceive them. This is not to say that what is seen is never interrogated by the poetry of what is heard, or by the adept use of irony, or the

manipulation of theatrical rhetoric - this is clearly very often the case - but such interrogation is entirely dependent upon audience recognition of what can be assumed as a given. It is the mummery of much festival-type display, and the absolute familiarity of the audience with certain signals that set up the *status quo* so that it can be addressed dramatically, either in words or by the vagaries of the plot.

In this respect, many set-pieces in the corpus do not substantially differ from modern staged spectacle, in which the outcome purports to be in doubt, but is in reality a vehicle for reaffirmation. In a well-known essay on wrestling, Roland Barthes makes an analysis of a similar, modern "rigged" performance and compares it to the gestures and masks of classical drama. If, in the extract which follows, one substitutes the term *catcheur* and its cognates for "stage-Indian" and the *comedia*, the connection becomes apparent.

> La vertu de catch, c'est d'être un spectacle excessif. On trouve là une emphase qui devait être celle des théâtres antiques [...] Le public se moque complètement de savoir si le combat est truqué ou non, et il a raison; il se confie à la première vertu du spectacle, qui est d'abolir tout mobile et conséquence: ce qui lui importe ce n'est pas ce qu'il croit, c'est ce qu'il voit [...] Ainsi la fonction du catcheur, ce n'est pas de gagner, c'est d'accomplir exactement les gestes qu'on attend de lui [...] dans le catch un homme à terre y est exagérément, emplissant jusqu'au bout la vue des spectateurs, du spectacle intolérable de son impuissance.
>
> Cette fonction d'emphase est bien la même que celle du théâtre antique, dont le ressort, la langue, et les accessoires (masques et cothurnes) concouraient à l'explication exagérément visible d'une Nécessité. Le geste du catcheur vaincu signifiant au monde une défaite que loin de masquer, il accentue et *tient* à la façon d'un point d'orgue, correspond au masque antique chargé de signifier le ton tragique du spectacle. Au catch, comme sur les anciens théâtres, on n'a pas honte de sa douleur, on sait pleurer, on a le goût des larmes.
>
> Chaque signe du catch est donc doué d'une clarté totale puisqu'il faut toujours tout comprendre sur-le-champ. Dès que les adversaires sont sur le Ring, le public est investi par l'évidence des rôles. Comme au théâtre, chaque type physique exprime à l'excès l'emploi qui a été assigné au combattant.
>
> (1957: 11-13)

In the light of this analysis by Barthes, I now examine another series of striking scenes from a New World drama, much more violent and discomfiting than those just

cited from *Las palabras*, and ending in a wholly different metaphor of subjugation. If the posture of Atabaliba just seen is an image Spanish triumphalism, what does the shocking *tableau* of the impaled Caupolicán transmit with regard to the ethos of *Arauco domado*? I answer this question by incorporating Barthes's analogy between wrestling and ancient spectacle into the general analysis of the influence of public spectacle and iconography on the New World corpus. But here I reverse the process adopted in the preceding pages by beginning with a moment of bloody catharsis, and using this as a point of departure for a retrospective examination of how Lope manipulates the audience reaction to events which lead up to it.

At the end of *Arauco domado*, Caupolicán, the Araucanian chief, has fallen into the hands of Spanish forces under don García Hurtado de Mendoza, and is sentenced to a horrific and exemplary death. Don García's sentence has been deemed excessive by at least one critic: Corominas considers that this and other actions 'quitan toda posibilidad de mitificación del héroe'(Vega 1993: 170), but once again, this is to ignore the emblematic or iconic significance of the incident and to focus exclusively on the functional requirements of the plotline in terms of a desire for the humane treatment of the natives and to attribute an anachronistic coherence to the characters which is never intended. To begin with the artifice which attaches to the *tableau*: the execution is displayed to the audience in the form of a *descubrimiento*:

Ábranse dos puertas y véase a Caupolicán en un palo, diciendo así:

Caupolicán — Señor, si yo era bárbaro, no tengo
tanta culpa en no haberos reconocido;
ya que me han dicho lo que os he debido,
sin pies a vuestros pies clavado vengo.
Yo confieso que tarde me prevengo;
pero dicen que, estando arrepentido,
debo creer que en este día he nacido;
perdonadme, Señor, si me detengo.

.....

Tornen a cerrar.

(Vega 1993: 139)

The significance of this format is immediately apparent, and recalls the dual role of the same character in the *auto La Araucana*: that of Christ. Dixon, in arguing strongly against the interpretation that Caupolicán's fate is unjust, is in no doubt of the implications of such an association:

> In Ercilla's poem (canto 34) his death is a proud exhibition of stoical fortitude; in Lope's play it becomes an 'example to his people', like don García's at the outset, of Christian humility. Ercilla describes his impalement in vivid, horrific detail; Lope has Rebolledo say merely that 'en un palo verás / su cuerpo fuerte clavado', which hints at an association with Crucifixion. His end is in this sense an *imitatio Christi*, not of course an unjust martyrdom but a punishment accepted as a penance. The analogies are underlined by his sonnet *in articulo mortis*, which irresistibly recalls Lope's own penitential poems, in his *Rimas sacras* of 1614 especially. In the light of those poems, Lope seems indeed not merely to empathize with his converted pagan, but to confess that Caupolicán may be nearer to heaven than he.[60]
>
> (1992: 268)

That is to say, Lope uses the very symbol of Christian faith to abstract a major Indian figure from his dramatic role and adopt a mode of transcendent personification: in this instance, subjugation to the Faith - the icon being one of redemption. Caupolicán has previously declared himself a deity : 'yo soy el dios de Arauco, no soy hombre' (1993: 83), but now renounces his blasphemous presumption and is reconciled with the Christian God. In other words, he has been afforded the salvation of his immortal soul with his executioner, don García, as godfather. This consideration dwarfs all others in assessing his fate which is principally intended to be perceived on a spiritual level.[61] As we shall see, the redemption of the pagan soul is the single most prestigious impulse that any character in the corpus, Spanish or Indian, can manifest.

The point Dixon also makes regarding the exemplification of don García is

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[60] Dixon supplies a series of similar references to Lope's poetry in support of them (1992: 268 note 46).
[61] Though the scene strikes the modern reader as very grisly, it should be remembered that many in the audience would have witnessed the real thing (executions in the main square being common currency) and did not share our sense of squeamishness (see Díaz Plaja 1994: 280ff).

equally important in establishing a context for audience reaction to the execution.[62] Lope's treatment of his sponsor verges on hagiography, and Dixon cites a catalogue of the literally dozens of virtues Lope bestows upon him, culminating in the epithet "San García" by which he is known to the Indians (1992: 263). Of all the Spanish captains portrayed in the corpus, the encomium to don García is the most assiduously prepared. The creation of an archetypal Conquistador/Evangelist is without doubt deliberately contrived by Lope. The process is initiated right at the beginning of the play in a complementary *tableau* which presents don García in this mode. The opening scene is a parallel ritual to the execution: the feast of the Exposition of the Holy Sacrament, before which don García, has abased himself. The audience is told how the priest carrying the monstrance has trodden underfoot the body of the youthful new Governor, whose unprecedented gesture of pious humility is a lesson to Spaniards and pagan Indians alike. An arch is now displayed, and he and his *insignias* are introduced to the audience:

> *Toquen chirimías, y córrase una cortina, detrás de la cual se vea un arco de hierba y flores, y en una alfombra debajo de él, tendido D. García en el suelo, y a los lados del arco los soldados que quepan, muy galanes, uno con el bastón, otro con la espada, y otro con el sombrero.*
>
> (Vega 1993: 80).

The saintly don García now articulates his twin purpose in discharging his function as Governor:

> la primera es ensanchar
> la fe de Dios: la segunda,
> reducir y sujetar de Carlos a la coyunda
> esta tierra y mar, para que Felipe tenga
> en este antártico polo
> vasallos que a mandar venga.
>
> (1993: 81)

---

[62] In similar vein, in *Lo fingido verdadero*, the protagonist's impaling is his glory, as he renounces his Roman paganism.

This serves also as an explicit declaration of intent by the playwright, an anticipation of the dramatic closure (in which respect its is equally valid as a template for the corpus as a whole).

The *tableau* of the Christ-like figure of Caupolicán impaled, and the *tableau* of the irreproachable virtue of "San García" are signals therefore that both should only be seen in archetypal terms. The essence of their relationship to each other is similarly formulaic and is contained in the encounter immediately prior to the execution: don García persuades Caupolicán to abandon his arrogance and save his soul, to which the Indian replies:

Capitán
aunque bárbaro, bien siento
los consejos que me dan;
inmortal alma tenemos.
Ya que la vida acabamos,
de darla al alma tratemos;
serás mi padrino.
García Vamos;
y este parentesco haremos.
Echad un bando, Avendaño,
que cuantos indios quisieren,
vengan a verle sin daño.
(Vega 1993: 137)

In elevating the interface between the Christian and the Indian heroes to that of godfather and godson, Lope thus abstracts the excution from literal significance. (In doing so, the author also has don García, in his closing remarks, usher in the notion of the execution as a spectacle within a spectacle. This is an important pointer to the status of these theatrical set-pieces which are integrated into, and then abstracted from the plot. These, as we shall see later , rely on the distancing technique of empowerment of the crypto-audience - that is the audience-on-stage - to physically and verbally define the appropriate wider reaction in the *patio*).

In sum, the quasi-crucifixion of Caupolicán and the humiliation of Atabaliba

in *Las palabras* are metaphorical gestures in the spirit of the Corpus procession or the pageant *tableau*, in the mode described by Barthes as indivisible from our heritage of public spectacle, and which goes back to ancient times:

> Il y a là un paroxysme de signification à l'antique qui ne peut que rappeler le luxe d'intentions des triomphes latins. A d'autres moments, c'est encore une figure antique qui surgit de l'accouplement des catcheurs, celle du suppliant, de l'homme rendu à merci, plié, à genoux, les bras levés au dessus de la tête, et lentement abaissé par la tension verticale du vainqueur. Au catch, contrairement au judo, la Défaite n'est pas un signe conventionnel, abandonné dès qu'il est acquis; elle n'est pas une issue, mais bien au contraire une durée, une exposition, elle reprend les anciens mythes de la Souffrance et l'Humiliation publiques: la croix et la pilori. Le catcheur est comme crucifié en pleine lumière, aux yeux de tous. J'ai entendu dire d'un catcheur étendu à terre : 'Il est mort, le petit Jésus, là, en croix', et cette parole ironique découvrait les racines profondes d'un spectacle qui accomplit les gestes mêmes des plus anciennes purifications.
>
> (1957: 17)

With regard to the mechanics of the play's plotline, however, how far does the execution succeed in terms of the dramatic structure of the play? What prevents it from becoming isolated as an abstraction or - much worse – a gratuitous exercise in voyeuristic gore? The answers lie in Lope's skilful manipulation of spectacular and verbal material before this *coup de grâce*, so that its eventuality is well-defined in advance. Lope's audience would have taken the point specified by the choice of words in Fresia's inquiry regarding the execution: '¿hacen justicia esta tarde[?]' (1993: 138) and would have recognised the *tableau*'s significance as an icon of judgement in the context of what has gone before. For an analysis of the process of concatenation which leads to final retribution in public spectacle, and without which the resolution of ritual conflict is meaningless, one can return to Barthes, whose wrestlers goad their audience with gross violations of the rules, before being brought to summary justice in the ring:

> Une finalité aussi précise exige que le catch soit exactement ce que le public en attend. Les catcheurs, hommes de grande expérience, savent parfaitement infléchir les épisodes spontanés du combat vers l'image que le public se fait

> des grands thèmes merveilleux de sa mythologie
>
> (1957: 21)

In similar mode, Lope inflames his spectators with a series of epistemological pointers and graphic incidents which prepare them for the final reckoning. Part of this process is the differentiation already alluded to between the Araucanians and other Indian nations. Dixon has commented on Lope's initiative in discriminating between the Indians of Chile and has catalogued the excesses attributed to them:

> Much less predictable [...] even in the light of Lope's sources, is his characterization of the Araucans, both collectively and in a whole series of individual cases. These are not, as don García and his brother comment, the innocent Indians encountered by Columbus, or as Rebolledo repeats: 'de los indios desarmados / que hallaba en selvas y prados como corderos, Colón, / sino los hombres más fieros, / más valientes, más extraños / que vio este polo en mil años'. They are not indeed like those of the nearby islands, who are charmed by don Garca's indulgence and generosity, or the 'indios de paz' who appear in the very first scene, one of whom, echoed later by Biedma, states that the Araucans are 'más fieros que áspides en Libia'. They exhibit rather the untamable savagery for which by Lope's time they were famous, and he makes them brag incessantly of a ferocity which seems to be prompted at times by arrogance or sheer blood-lust. He stresses [...] how barbaric are some of their practices. Allusions are not confined to the black humour of the scene in which they argue whether to roast Rebolledo in pieces, whole or alive; they are said to roast other Spaniards, and in Tucapel's case even to have eaten them raw. Believing superstitiously in omens, they revere and in their first scene conjure the demon Pillán. It is he who (though foretelling that "San García" and the cross of Christ will defeat both them and him) incites them to resist.
>
> (1992: 264)

In one example of this savagery, Lope establishes the foundation for audience anticipation that violence by the Indians will provoke terrible retribution on the part of don García. Early in the play, the Indian Orompello is so outraged by his fellow Galvarino's cowardly killing of a Spanish captain (by shooting him in the back) that he has to be prevented from killing him on the spot. Don García is equally outraged, however, and in act III summons Galvarino to his presence, only for the Indian to show sneering defiance:

García Ya sé tus malas entrañas,
y que en esta rebelión
has hecho cosas extrañas
.....
¿Fue hazaña dalle la muerte
a traición a Juan Guillén?
Galvarino Todo es guerra.

(Vega 1993: 121)

Exemplary justice is immediate and Galvarino is sent back to his troops with both hands severed. The responsibilty of don García for this shock-tactic is assigned unequivocally by the author, adapting his source-material carefully, as Dixon observes 'Lope follows Escobar in having him personally order the mutilation of Galvarino, but makes clear, unlike all his sources, that this was retribution for the Indian's treacherous killing of a Spaniard' (1992: 264). Interrupting a chieftains' parley Galvarino staggers onto the stage '*con las manos en unos troncos de sangre*' (Vega 1993: 127). The exercise of this *escarmiento* again, according to Barthes, obeys ancient tenets enshrined in public spectacle:

> Mais ce que le catch est surtout chargé de mimer, c'est un concept purement moral: la justice. L'idée de paiement est essentiel au catch et le 'Fais-le souffrir' de la foule signifie avant tout un 'Fais-le payer'. Il s'agit donc, bien sûr, d'une justice immanente. Plus l'action du 'salaud' est basse, plus le coup qui lui est justement rendu met le public en joie [...] Pour un amateur de catch, rien n'est plus beau que la fureur vengeresse d'un combattant trahi qui se jette avec passion, non sur un adversaire heureux mais sur l'image de la déloyauté. Naturellement, c'est le mouvement de la Justice qui importe ici beaucoup plus que son contenu: le catch est avant tout une série quantitative de compensations (oeil pour oeil, dent pour dent). Ceci explique que les retournements de situations possèdent aux yeux des habitués du catch une sorte de beauté morale: ils en jouissent comme d'un épisode romanesque bien venu, et plus le contraste est grand entre la réussite d'un coup et le retour du sort, plus la fortune d'un combattant est proche de sa chute et plus le mimodrame est jugé satisfaisant. La justice est donc le corps d'une transgression possible; c'est parce qu'il ya une Loi que le spectacle des passions qui la débordent a tout son prix.
>
> (1957: 18)

Dramatically, the grotesque mutilation is sensationally effective, and unleashes a chain-reaction of violence and gore: Galvarino harangues his peers for a continuation

of the rebellion, and this paves the way for yet another spectacular set-piece. In a rejection of Spanish values and united by this horror, the Indians gather on stage in an orgiastic celebration of their paganism. Amid music, dances and songs, they drink the blood of Valdivia from his gilded skull in a gruesome eucharistic parody, in which Caupolicán is fully implicated:

> Rengo Toma, esta sangre bebe.
> Caupolicán Con ella la sed resisto,
> que aunque está caliente, es nieve.
> (Vega 1993: 132)

As I discuss in a later chapter, the only interpetation of this scene left open to the audience is that of Devil-worship, and as such can only damn the participants on a spiritual level in the eyes of Christian spectators. Caupolicán's fate is thus sealed in dramatic terms. This is compounded on secular grounds, when he is captured and admonished by a Spanish captain for his rebellion and treachery 'contra tu Rey y señor, / de quien eras ya vasallo; / pero pues fuiste traidor' (Vega 1993: 133-4). Doubly guilty, therefore, condemned to death and displayed humiliatingly bound by the Spaniards, Caupolicán now has to witness what constitutes the most shocking scene of violence in the play (possibly in the corpus as a whole). His wife Fresia, outraged at his defeat, makes a dramatic entrance from above and delivers a blood-curdling harangue which culminates in her dashing their infant child to pieces on the rocks below; a shattering *coup de théâtre.* Broken by this, the grief-stricken Caupolicán now accepts baptism, thus completing the required context for his climactic execution. The audience, stunned by what it has just witnessed, is now more than primed to accept don García's grim resolve. Such are the blasphemy, treachery, ghoulishness and brutality of events leading up to Caupolicán's impalement, that his execution is shocking rather than surprising, and the appalling *justicia* of don García is contextualised and exonerated. As Barthes concludes:

Le catch est le seul sport à donner une image aussi extérieure de la torture. Mais ici encore, seule l'image est dans le champ du jeu, et le spectateur ne souhaite pas la souffrance réelle du combattant, il goûte seulement la perfection d'une iconographie. Ce n'est pas vrai que le catch soit un spectacle sadique: c'est seulement un spectacle intelligible [...]

Nul ne peut douter que le catch detient le pouvoir de transmutation qui est propre au Spectacle et au Culte. Sur le Ring et au fond même de leur ignominie volontaire, les catcheurs restent des dieux, parce qu'ils sont pour quelques instants, la clef qui ouvre la Nature, la geste qui sépare le Bien du Mal et dévoile la figure d'une Justice enfin intelligible.

(1957: 16-21)

My interpretation of the execution of Caupolicán is, therefore, an attempt to demonstrate not only the symbiotic relationship between the *comedia* and street theatre of pageants and festivals, but also to establish a further link to religious processions and images of the Crucifixion. The identification of the condemned sinner in his last agony and the Christ of the Redemption is not an original conceit - its heritage has survived vigorously into modern times. In particular, the *pasos* of the Sevillian Easter cycle have paraded ghastly effigies of Jesus's Passion since the fourteenth century. As one traveller has observed:

> the spectacle of the blood-stained Christ is stressed to a point which northerners find macabre. As Barrès wrote: 'I suspect the Spaniards of finding pleasure at the sight of the suffering Christ.' [...] There are over sixty brotherhoods in Sevilla, some of whom possess several floats. Each float represents a scene from the drama of the Passion. Some of the images of Christ are so realistic that that it has been alleged that the artists took as models dying malefactors or tortured victims of the Inquisition.
>
> (Epton 1968: 2,5)

Folklore accords some credence to this impression. The celebrated photographer Brassaï, in annotating a collection of images of *pasos* such as Christ crucified, the Conversion of the Good Thief and so on, observes:

> In the middle of the square stands the dying Christ, from the Church of the Patrocinio, commonly known as El Cachorro and one of the most popular statues. According to the legend – and every float has its legend – the Cachorro was modelled from the face of a dying gipsy, whose breast had been

> pierced by a knife. The gaping mouth in its death agony lends a startling expression to the face of the statue.
>
> (Brassaï 1956: 148 note 171)

The plastic expression of the transgressor redeemed thus still finds its place within the context of public display in Spain. Similarly, the Good Thief, the outcast, the prisoner are accompanied in the *comedia* by the pagan who recants and redeems his soul by the sacrifice of his flesh.

Even in these transcendent terms, however, the broken body of Caupolicán in *Arauco domado* does not yet represent hegemonic closure in the drama. It may be recalled that don García's mission has been twofold - evangelisation and pacification - and the baptism of the Indian chief is emblematic of only the first. The subjugation of Chile to the universal empire requires its own confirmation Whatever its power (within a drama of extreme visual images) the ethos of the play requires this to take place in a final triumphant set-piece now be enacted. The play (which has now fully engaged monumental iconographic mode since the infanticide committed by Fresia and the execution of Caupolicán) now effects an spatial transition identical to the type seen in *Las palabras a los reyes.* The victorious *tableau* which follows bears strong similarities to its counterpart in that play. A similar chronological coincidence is contrived between don García's tenure in Chile (a brief interlude lasting two years from 1557) and the following events: the abdication of Charles V (1555); the succession in1556 of Philip II; and his return to Spain in 1559 (Elliott 1970: 210-11). The metaphorical leap across the Ocean is also replaced by the appearance of the new king in an image specifically referred to as statuesque. It is displayed to the assembled Spanish forces for inspiration, and detailed in an *acotación* which contains an unusually explicit replication of triumphalist iconography:

> *Salga toda la compañía, muy galana, de soldados, con música, con nueve banderas, y detrás D. García; vuélvase a descubrir aquel arco, y sobre una base se vea, armado con un bastón, el rey Felipe II, muy mozo, como que fuese estatua.*[63]
>
> (Vega1993,140).

The complicity of drama and iconography could scarcely be made more clear than in this instance. The completion of the second objective of don García is now enunciated by reference to the image. In the final lines of the play, don García and his cohorts definitively secure the vaunting of imperial domination (the colonisation of Chile with nine new cities) as the overriding ethos of the drama. Crucially, the status of the Indians (whose iconographic presence in the play has been so imposing) now reverts to that of slave-labour in the *repartimientos* or as mass casualties triumphantly reported on the field of battle:

García: Invictísimo Felipe,
nuevamente coronado
por rey de España y del mundo
.....
Nueve ciudades también
os doy, ofrezco y consagro
y todo aquesto, señor,
en término de dos años.
.....
Vosotros, soldados míos,
llegad a besar su mano,
porque los repartimientos
que de los indios os hago,
confirme en ausencia suya
este famoso retrato

Felipe (de Mendoza): Pues con esto al templo vamos,
y decid en altas voces
que ya se retira Carlos.
¡Viva el invicto Felipe,
Rey español, Rey indiano!

García: Pues con est al templo vamos,
y decid en altas voces
que ya se retira Carlos.

---

[63] The reference to *aquel arco* is to the scene in Act I, and is the same arch below which don García prostrates himself in a display of piety.

¡Viva el invicto Felipe,
Rey español, Rey indiano!
Todos: ¡Viva el rey Felipe!
(Vega 1993: 140)

As Dixon has remarked of the play's conclusion: 'without recourse to allegory, Spanish exploration and conquest are taken to be justified in the name of evangelization' (1992: 268). Given Lope's investment in the eloquence of mannerist gesture, dramatised *tableaux*, and heightened universalised characterisation in this play, the recourse to allegory was scarcely required. In collusion with don García's family, and perhaps even with the aged former Governor himself, Lope reaffirms the loyalty and self-sacrifice of the Mendoza clan in the building of the universal empire, just as Vélez de Guevara has done on behalf of the descendants of the Pizarros (Zugasti 1996b: 311). In achieving this, the monumental characterisations of the Conquistador/Evangelist "San García", and the Indian Christ/Caupolicán, serve as icons of Spanish victory and pagan redemption, in the same way that Vélez's Pizarro and Atabaliba are emblematic of Spanish victory and pagan defeat. In fulfilling this role, these figures are momentarily accorded the dramatic licence of their forbears in drama, the allegorical personifications of the *auto sacramental.* The representation of the Indian in this respect serves therefore as a dramatic tool in the hand of the playwright in his affirmation of an eulogistic ethos defined by patronage. Caupolicán's last agony is not to be perceived in literal terms as an act of brutal Spanish repression, any more than is the sycophantic representation of "San García" to be seen as an call for his canonisation.

In the representation of this particular Indian icon, Lope automatically draws on the vast heritage of public spectacle and imagery that plays to audience recognition, and exploits the function of trace at its most immediately familiar level. His objective is encomium and his motif is redemption, and in this he does not

hestitate to manipulate the stage-presence of Caupolicán.

Chapter Two: The Gendering of the Conquest

The *comedia* as a whole boasts a tradition of strong female characters. McKendrick's 1974 work, *Woman and Society in the Spanish Drama of the Golden Age: a Study of the Mujer Varonil*, identifies several categories of female personages whose relevance to the present topic is evident, and who became well-established in the theatre. McKendrick gauges their presence in the *comedia* at large as follows:

> As for the popularity of the various categories of *mujer varonil*, the recurrence of a particular type is oviously the best indicator of its popularity among theatre audiences. By this gauge [...] the *mujer esquiva* was by far the most popular. The bandit and the leader came second, with the warrior a close third (this not counting the *mujer vestida de hombre* who occasionally brandishes a sword, for otherwise the *guerrera* would come higher up the scale). Then followed the *bella cazadora*, the scholar and the career woman, the avenger and the Amazon, in roughly descending order of preference.
>
> (1974: 312)

Even though the New World plays were not popular with the public, the corpus shows us as a similar sprinkling of these types, the incidence of this kind of woman being, necessarily, much more prolific. The New World on stage is no place for the faint-hearted, and those qualities of assertiveness, independence and aggression, so commonly defined as masculine, seem to have been a pre-requisite in any of the plays' female characterisations - whether native or Spanish.[64]

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[64] Scorned women such as doña Juana in the first part of *El español entre todas las naciones*, doña María in *Los españoles en Chile*, and doña María in *El nuevo rey Gallinato* cross half the globe in pursuit of their men, alternating between the skirts of a Spanish lady, the skins of a Wild Woman, the uniform of a Spanish soldier, even the costume of an Indian idol. Native women like the Indian princess Teolinda (*Fray Luis Bertrán*) abound: murderous and capricious in her *esquivez*, she responds to male flattery with a death-sentence! She also fits comfortably within the *bella cazadora* category - reared in the wild, out hunting boar, armed to the teeth. In this respect, she is almost as much a descendent of Martesia and Menalipe, the Amazons who illuminate Tirso's *Amazonas en las Indias*.

In addition to this, the representation of the female Indians in the corpus is a composite of trace identities. Apart from the imprint of the spectacle and iconography just surveyed, the women's characterisation is heavily influenced by the allegorical heritage of an *auto sacramental*. In the first part of this chapter I pursue the analysis of the relationship between allegorical personifications, emblematic iconography, and the stage representation of the native women. I address the issue of how the plays utilise gender to define their themes, that is, how they go about constructing female archetypes among the native characters, and how gender transcends the corpus as emblematic of conquest itself. I ask how far the dramatised appropriation of the indigenous females can be seen as a signifier for the re-enactment of territorial seizure and possession.

My analysis centres upon two paradigmatic scenes: one is the intervention of Piurisa in *La lealtad contra la envidia* by Tirso de Molina, the genesis of which I trace in order to assess the impact of allegorical personifications on figurative female characters. The other is a comparison between van der Straet's famous engraving of Vespucci's "discovery" of the female America, and the iconic *tableau* of Pizarro's "discovery" of Tucapela in *Las palabras a los reyes.*

The second part of the chapter continues with a close examination of Tucapela's characterisation in this play, leading to a more generalised examination of the mingling of love, sex and violence in the corpus. The contradictory representation of Indian women as bestial/beautiful or promiscuous/chaste is then examined in an attempt to determine how this inscribes their male counterparts and the Spanish invader. I conclude the chapter with an analysis of Fresia in Lope's *Arauco domado*, by way of comparison and contrast to what has gone before, and point to those qualities which elevate her as a dramatic creation above all other women in the

corpus.

* * *

The symbiotic relationship between emblematic and figurative characterisation is especially relevant to the representation of Indian women. This is due primarily to the overwhelming preference in the plays for women in allegorical or neo-allegorical roles (those encompassing figurative and emblematic functions discharged by the one stage-persona). As we shall see, the neo-allegorical roles represent aspects of the debate between Faith and Idolatry, and given the religious imperative which drives every drama in the corpus, they represent a considerable presence. As a result of the essentially evangelical component which underpins any dramatised dealings with the pagan Indians, there is a dualism which inhabits certain female characters; first as abstract allegorical constructs, and second, as dramatic creations whose human qualities (however codified they may be) actually impact on the development of the plot.

This relates directly to these characters' allegorical precursors in the *auto.* In discussing the street theatre of the Corpus Christi celebrations, Arellano links certain figures on stage directly to the ubiquitous emblems and symbology in parades, pageants and royal entries discussed above. They are:

> Los personajes que encarnan abstracciones como la Fe, Esperanza, Caridad, etc., modo alegórico indispensable en un género que trabaja abstracciones de este tipo y que debe poner de manifiesto una serie de luchas de virtudes y vicios, del bien y del mal [...] ; en suma la batalla permanente en el interior del hombre entre las tendencias a su salvación y a su perdición. Estas alegorías no se ciñen sólo a la actuación de los actores y a la descripción textual sino que funcionan también en las representaciones escenográficas. Es un tipo de alegorías [...] que debemos relacionar con el mundo de la cultura de la imagen en el que vive inmerso el público del XVII, el mundo de los emblemas, de las representaciones plásticas alegóricas o ilustraciones de

> entradas reales, lo que facilita la comprensión de los sentidos morales y simbolismos cristianos de semejantes representaciones [...]
>
> (1995: 692)

He then outlines the rationale behind their use in words that can be subsequently applied to the New World plays:

> En el auto la alegoría es la forma de pensamiento que determina el método de construcción y la función de todos y cada uno de los elementos constitutivos del mismo, estableciendo:
> 1) la relación entre conceptos e imágenes que los representan (las *suposiciones*),
> 2) su disposición en argumento (la *fantástica idea*, el *concepto imaginado*),
> 3) la semejanza entre escenario (interacción de personajes, escenografía y música) y realidad espiritual que el escenario representa,
> 4) la elaboración retórica del texto, es decir, que los tropos y las figuras (de pensamiento y de dicción) sean concebidos en función de los momentos constitutivos de la alegoría.
>
> De esta forma la alegoría viene a ser el método de invención y producción del auto sacramental, y los recursos retóricos y poéticos de que se sirve para este fin funcionan también como formas de pensamiento y sólo secundariamente en calidad de adorno. Las "suposiciones" son las hipótesis parciales de la alegoría, que es la hipótesis total del auto. En efecto, la alegoría funciona en el auto en calidad de hipótesis de trabajo encaminada a verificar el proyecto expresado por uno o más personajes por medio de hipótesis parciales, cada una de las cuales contribuye a la obtención de la "fantástica idea" o argumento del auto de que se sirve la alegoría.
>
> (1995: 693-4)

Evidence as obtained from the *loa* to *El divino Narciso* has already demonstrated that these conventions transfer easily to the location of the New World *auto*, and can be shown to appear readily in the corpus of New World plays, especially where sufficient *acotaciones* have survived the transition to the printed edition. The *loa* includes, it may be recalled, a list of bi-partite allegorical figures who accompany a troop of Spanish soldiers: Occidente ('*indio galán*'); América ('*india bizarra*'); Religión Cristiana ('*de dama española*'); and Celo ('*de capitán general, armado*' [Cruz 1960: 6]). Here, Religión Cristiana has a struggle on two fronts; first in restraining the bloodthirsty alacrity of Celo to put idolatrous Indians to the sword, and second, to persuade América and her Indians of the plausibility of the

fantástica idea or *concepto imaginado*: the familiar analogy made between the Christian Eucharist and pagan human sacrifice. In the present discussion of gender roles, however, the *suposiciones* which conceive of *dama española* as Religión Cristiana and *india bizarra* as América are vital. In allegorical mode, they do indeed ease the understanding of the moral sense and Christian symbolism in the way that Arellano has described. In bringing their partial hypothesis to complete the whole they act primarily as forms of thought and, secondarily, as adornment or visual presence; that is, they lack elements of characterisation which the spectator might expect in the *comedia* - their emblematic names and physical appearance circumscribe their autonomy as dramatic creations.

If one now turns to a similar instance in one of the plays, it is clear that *El Brasil restituido* by Lope de Vega works in an identical, purely abstract manner. The corresponding figures are Religión Cathólica ('*en háuito de dama española*' [Vega 1929: 46]), Herejía ('hija del mismo dragón / que en sus onbros [le] sustenta' [1929: 77]) and El Brasil ('*en figura de dama yndia, con vna rueda de plumas y vna flecha dorada como dardo*' [1929: 26]) . Because this play deals with the menace of the Lutheran Dutch rather than paganism, the allegorical figures respond accordingly. Here the foe is not idolatry but heresy, so it is Herejía who enters in a mode exactly similar to that of the *auto*: '*salga la Heregía abriéndose vn escotillón con unos tiros debaxo del teatro, y suba hasta vna vara del suelo*'(1929: 76). She attempts to divert El Brasil from her new-found faith, and having failed, threatens to kill her. The allegorical significance of this threat is patently clear, and these figures never assume, in the action of the play, a significance which goes beyond the hypothetical: that is, they never intervene in its action.

These two instances from Sor Juana and Lope provide certain indicators of a

hierarchy of representational devices employed by playwrights. At the bottom is Herejía whose physical intervention is clearly designed to evoke a sense of witchcraft and/or evil (she emerges from a trapdoor, suspended in space, atop the shoulders of a dragon). Next are the incarnations of the conquered territories, América and El Brasil (as *india bizarra* and *dama yndia*) who are emphatically portrayed as heathen in origin (with feather headdress and emblematic golden arrow) but are potential or actual converts to the Faith. At the apex of the triangle are Religión Cristiana and Religión Cathólica, both dressed as Spanish noblewomen (the epitome of everything that a pagan might aspire to) and anathema to the heretical and idolatrous. (As becomes clear, this hierarchy: female personification of evil; female personification of conquered territory; and female Christian convert in appropriate garb is consistently respected in the New World plays).

However, the use of such figures by Lope in *El Nuevo Mundo* has suffered criticism from those who have seen its mingling of sacred and profane elements to be evidence of its misconception.[65] Fortunately, Lemartinel and Minguet have corrected these interpretations, and point to the political and evangelical imperative which determines the ethos of all the plays in the corpus:

> Lope présente Colomb comme un navigateur expérimenté, fermement convaincu du bien-fondé de son projet, qui sait où il va et qui veut donner un Nouveau Monde à l'Espagne. Doté d'une imagination supérieure, inspiré par la Providence divine et soutenu par la Religion chrétienne, il veut aller aux Indes pour en prendre possession au nom du Christ, en extirper l'idolâtrie et arracher au Démon les Indiens qui y vivent, pour en faire de bons chrétiens.

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[65] Lemartinel and Minguet defend Lope as follows:

> Il était inévitable que Lope, en recomposant l'image du Nouveau Monde, en reconstituât aussi une histoire mythique, situant la découverte dans une vision providentialiste, tout comme l'avaient fait d'ailleurs les premiers chroniqueurs, notamment López de Gómara. Vision providentialiste qui est loin d'être, comme l'affirme Moratín, hautement extravagante, mal-venue et 'disparatada' ou détestable et prosaïque, comme le croit Aurelio Miró Quesada. La scene même que censure Moratín et où interviennent l'imagination, la Providence divine, la Religion chrétienne, l'Idolâtrie et le Démon est un admirable résumé de l'état de la question sur Colomb et la découverte dans l'opinion moyenne de l'Espagne du premier tiers du 17ème siècle (acte I, v. 661-819).
>
> (Vega 1980: v-vi).

> Tel est le contenu idéologique, et tout à fait anachronique, de la pièce, si durement censuré par Moratín, dont le blâme semble porter, plus que sur son contenu allégorique, sur le mélange des genres qu'introduit dans la *comedia* la scène en question. On admet difficilement une telle rupture de ton, un tel passage de la *comedia* à *l'auto sacramental,* avec ses procédés typiques, ses jeux de machines où l'on voit tour à tour l'Imagination descendre sur Colomb, puis Colomb lui-même s'élever dans les airs, transporté par sa propre imagination, pour y comparaître devant le tribunal de la Providence Divine! Il semble que les critiques n'aient pas clairement perçu que Lope n'avait pas d'autre moyen scénique pour exprimer avec force, non seulement les pulsions profondes de son héros, mais aussi le caractère absolument invraisemblable et magique pour les esprits du temps de la prémonition colombienne et de la découverte.
>
> (Vega 1980: vi)

This protestation that Lope had no alternative but to use personifications is, if anything, somewhat defensive - their employment in the New World corpus is not unusual. Apart from items of *teatro breve* and *autos*, several *comedias* in the corpus take advantage of the familiarity of the public with this device to clarify a play's intention - to treat issues which are essentially of a moral nature and/or to represent geographical pagan entities. These are: *La aurora en Copacabana*; *El nuevo rey Gallinato*; *La lealtad contra la envidia*; *El Brasil restituido*; *El Nuevo Mundo*; *Las palabras a los reyes*; *El rufián dichoso*; and *La Conquista de México.*

The precise nature of the use of personifications in these plays does however vary. In some instances, they feature much in the way commented on in *El Nuevo Mundo*, that is, as if transplanted directly from the *auto sacramental.* So, for example, Claramonte in *El nuevo rey Gallinato* also has Idolatría debate with Imaginación during the hero's dream (1983: 246-47), and the same figure in *La conquista de México* makes her entrance thus: '*Sale la Idolatría con un vestido de negro sembrado de imágenes de oro, y un ídolo echando fuego por la boca*' (Zárate 1993: 227). She makes a direct appeal for cannibalism and calls for the sacrifice of 500 men. Given the appearance of the figure and the fact that no such sacrifice takes place or is reported, her intervention can only be seen as a rhetorical adornment in

abstract mode.

An apparently similar emblematic appearance is discernible in the personification (previously cited) of América in *Las palabras a los reyes*. This is América's only appearance in the work (which in itself is an indication of her emblematic status). It is a rather crowded canvas of images, mostly of a familiar nature, as we have seen: a celebration and justification of Spanish expansionism and evangelisation, together with copious reassurances of the Pizarros' unswerving loyalty to the Emperor - the essential theme of this play.

Certain facets of América's brief moment on stage, however, do raise questions. At what point do such figures begin to impact upon, rather than merely reflect upon, the plotlines of the drama? How far do abstract personifications and conventionally stylised archetypal characters merge? Differentiation between what constitutes a direct intervention in the plotline of the drama (as opposed to the rhetorical elucidation of a moral dilemma) can be difficult to gauge. The quality which hints at América in *Las palabras* extending her role beyond that of the pageant float or the *auto* emerges as she delivers her exhortation that Pizarro should take advantage of the civil war between the Inca factions. This could be construed as an intervention in the line of the plot (even if in the play the Pizarros appear to need little encouragement to pursue their conquest of Peru). But it is more likely that she has been included for the rhetorical purpose of educating audience reaction to the events unfolding on stage, and to assert the hegemony of Spain over the territory whose name she bears: "América". Significantly, however, the allegorical figure does this by appearing in stylised Indian costume with the accoutrements of hostile native status (bow and arrows) while crucially voicing the consent of the Indians to incorporation into the Spanish empire - both in terms of its history (Mexico), and its

future prospect (Peru).

Paradoxically, the pagan allure of the female apparition (with her decorated breasts and *varonil* weaponry) is combined with the reassurance and celebration of her message. Her appearance in support of the Pizarros is therefore a powerful residual signifier. As a trace element, her native status, Indian costume and armaments - even the symbol of idolatry incorporated in the the sun motif in breast and headdress - do not prevent this figure from being pro-Spanish, pro-Christian, pro-Conquest. The implication is that any stage-Indian can aspire to inclusion in the Spanish world-picture. The audience is being informed that, whatever savage status is signified, reconciliation is their objective and their fate. And this is the actual dramatised outcome with virtually every figurative native female in the corpus.

We must now turn to a figure who is depicted as both contained within, and reaching beyond, allegorical confines. Calderón's introduction of the personification of paganism in *La aurora en Copacabana* is routinely couched: '*sale la Idolatría vestida de negro con estrellas, espada y vengala*' (1994: 128). Again, her costume is a standard uniform: that of the witch; she harangues her adherents and opponents at length and in blood-curdling terms (1994: 128-9,148-49), calls for Human sacrifice (1994: 133-34) and even makes a physical attempt on her emblematic counterpart - the statue of the Virgin (1994: 215). All these manifestations can also be construed as rhetorical adornments: part of the exposition of her incarnation of evil. But Calderón chooses to take the process one stage further. He makes Idolatría one of the central characters of the plot and instead of limiting her to theological jousting with rival personifications, he has her move towards direct intervention in the action, but in a way which continues to direct the audience very specifically in the struggle between good and evil, perdition and salvation. She incites the Indians to rebel against the

Spaniards and deceives them with her false legend of Manco Capac (Calderón 1994: 146-49), and acts as a spy throughout act III. The abstract spiritual dimension which Idolatría is intended to represent thus also encompasses an amalgam of human attributes which are specifically imputed to conventional female Indian characters in the dramas. Her allegorical role reflects her idolatry, blood-lust, and reflexivity with icons of the Virgin and witchcraft. Idolatría's involvement in the plotline, on the other hand, reflects human aggression, treachery, capriciousness and violence. Calderón's creation of Idolatría in *La aurora en Copacabana*, in fact, constitutes an elision of hypothesis, visual adornment, and dramatic intervention, and indicates considerable reliance on audience acceptance of allegorical personifications transplanted from the *auto*, but which veer close to the archetypal characterisation which is more properly the domain of the *comedia.*

This leaves only a short distance between the melding of abstract allegorical personifications and figurative female characters.[66] In *La lealtad contra la envidia*, Tirso deploys a female Indian character who seems wholly to subsume the elements of allegorical personification into a figurative one. The naming of a character in terms other than conceptual (such as Idolatría) is an important step in this direction. Tirso seems to opt out of the abstract nomenclature "Perú" for the humanised approximation "Piurisa". In neo-allegorical mode, she appears only once in the play to deliver a lengthy harangue of 117 lines in which she paints a lurid picture of life under the Spanish yoke. As we now see, Piurisa's dramatic entrance, her stylised appearance, her warmongering rhetoric, and idolatrous heritage clearly mark her as a personification. She is also, though, a creature of flesh and blood, as the emperor

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[66] This is hinted at in *Los guanches de Tenerife.* On the subject of witchcraft, Dácil is portrayed as a native princess without supernatural powers, but acknowledges that her pagan status alone is sufficient for the Spaniards to categorise her as a witch: 'Tenéisnos por hechiceras / a las bárbaras canarias / los españoles', she declares (Vega 1950b: 77).

Inga humiliatingly learns. (The denial of womanly favours in the absence of Spanish bloodshed is, it emerges, a not unusual trope). In figurative mode, however, she intervenes directly to reverse the progress of the action of the play. She excoriates the Inca troops for their reliance upon Spanish internecine strife in order to regain their empire, and she promptly sends them back into battle:

Sale Piurisa, india bizarra, con una lanza que, calada, los detiene

Piurisa: ¿Adónde volvéis, cobardes,
que de la humana nación
sois oprobio, sois injuria,
sois afrenta, infamia sois?
.....
¿Vosotros sois decendientes
de aquel celestial varón
que a los planetas monarcas
por padres reconoció?
¿Vosotros al Sol eterno
llamaréis progenitor
y a la Luna vuestra madre,
del cielo antorchas los dos?[67]
.....
No atreváis los pies un paso,
retiraos o, ¡vive el sol!,
que os ensarte como a peces
en la lanza mi rigor.
(Molina 1993c: IV, 125-8)

When, chastened and exhilarated, the emperor Inga asks for her arms in embrace, she rejects him in withering terms:

No los espere tu amor
mientras no me los bañares
en sangre del español.
(1993c: IV, 129)

So, during this particular intervention she manages to strike both attitudes simultaneously. Although (as in the case of América and El Brasil) her abstract

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[67] Zugasti, in a footnote to his edition of the play (lines 2476-79), indicates that this is a reference to the Manco Cápac myth. In Chapter Three of this study, an analysis of its satanic origins is identified in a discussion of Calderón's *La aurora en Copacabana.*

identification with the Inca territory is unequivocal, this is merged with her human status a "mere" woman:

> Pues afeminados viles,
> si una mujer os causó
> tanto asombro, miedo tanto,
> tanto pasmo, mujer soy
> que estas montañas defiendo.
> Las que las viven y yo
> bastamos en vuestra afrenta
> a todo un mundo español.
> (1993c: IV, 126-7)

Finally, as the Indians finally prepare to march she reverts to emblematic mode and exclaims: 'contra España / yo sola bastante soy' (1993c: IV, 134).

To sum up, the evangelical component inherent in all the New World plays, makes the use of allegorical personifications (borrowed from the *auto sacramental*) particularly appropriate. But not only can an abstraction serve as a visual signifier for figurative female characters, it can also impact on the plotline of the play and subsume human qualities into its conceptualisation. Indeed, in the case of Tirso's Piurisa, the distinction between her abstract and her figurative role is difficult to determine.

To now take the discussion one stage further: does a reversal of this process also bear examination? Can figurative female characterisations of the Indians become imbued with the transcendent gestures, speech, and appearance which mark their allegorical counterparts? In the next section I analyse the manner in which playwrights engage exactly with this idea, and begin by drawing a parallel between drama and a celebrated iconographic image of female America.

* * *

1

AMERICA.

Americen Americus retexit, & Semel vocauit inde ſemper excitam.

I now address a powerful image from the plays: the "discovery" of Tucapela from *Las palabras a los reyes.* Francisco Pizarro's encounter with Tucapela, the Indian *cacica*, serves as a paradigm for sexuality in the New World plays. It functions on various levels (plotline and characterisation are obvious ones), but I intend here to explore it as a signifier in a wider sense. I should like to secure the content and ramifications of this scene in order to establish a context for discussion of gender politics within the plays and investigate the extent to which the role of Indian women inscribes the archetypal role of men (European men in particular) and serves as a vehicle for the affirmation of imperial thrust and conquest.

A well-known allegorical icon of the Discovery of the New World is described by McClintock thus:

> In a famous drawing (ca.1575), Jan van der Straet portrays the "discovery" of America as an eroticized encounter between a man and a woman. A fully armored Vespucci stands erect and masterful before a naked and erotically inviting woman, who inclines toward him from a hammock. At first glance, the imperial lessons of the drawing seem clear. Roused from her sensual languor by the epic newcomer, the indigenous woman extends an inviting hand, insinuating sex and submission. Her nakedness and her gesture suggest a visual echo of Michelangelo's *Creation.* Vespucci, the godlike arrival, is destined to inseminate her with the male seeds of civilization, fructify the wilderness and quell the riotous scenes of cannibalism in the background. As Peter Hulme puts it in a fine essay: 'Land is named as female as a passive counterpart to the massive thrust of male technology'. America allegorically represents nature's invitation to conquest, while Vespucci, gripping the fetish instruments of imperial mastery — astrolabe, flag and sword — confronts the virgin land with the patrimony of scientific mastery and imperial might. Invested with the male prerogative of naming, Vespucci renders America's identity a dependent extension of his and stakes male Europe's territorial rights to her body and, by extension, the fruits of her land.
>
> The inaugural scene of discovery is redolent not only of male megalomania and imperial aggression but also of male anxiety and paranoia. In the central distance of the picture, between Amerigo and America, a cannibal scene is in progress. The cannibals appear to be female and are spit-roasting a human leg [...]
>
> Most notably, the boundary figures are female. Here, women mark, quite literally, the margins of the new world but they do so in such a way as to suggest a profound ambivalence in the European male. In the foreground, the explorer is of a piece—fully armored, erect and magisterial, the incarnation of male imperial power. Caught in his gaze, the woman is naked, subservient and

vulnerable to his advance. In the background, however, the male body is quite literally in pieces, while the women are actively and powerfully engaged. The dismembered leg roasting on the spit evokes a disordering of the body so catastrophic as to be fatal.

Suspended between a fantasy of conquest and a dread of engulfment, between rape and emasculation, the scene, so neatly gendered, represents a splitting and displacement of a crisis that is, properly speaking, male. The gendering of America as simultaneously naked and passive *and* riotously violent and cannibalistic represents a doubling within the conqueror, disavowed and displaced onto a feminized scene.

As in many imperial scenes, the fear of engulfment expresses itself most acutely in the cannibal trope. In this familiar trope, the fear of being engulfed by the unknown is projected onto colonized peoples as *their* determination to devour the intruder whole [...] Van der Straet's discovery implicitly represent[s] female sexuality as cannibalistic: the cannibal scene, 'the mouth of treasure cave'.

(1995: 26-27)

In the discussion that follows I draw an analogy between van der Straet's image and its implications, and the symbolic sexual encounter of Pizarro with Tucapela on stage. I explore how the boundary markers of civilisation are feminized as the act of insurgence is enacted via an extended dramatic conceit which renders the enterprise analogous to sexual possession - or as the Spanish verb has it, *prender.*

Las palabras a los reyes presents us with the liminal scene - the threshold of a wilderness. This circumstance is repeated throughout the corpus as civilisation (Spain) encounters the unknown. The audience expectation is, naturally, one of danger, possibly violence and resistance, but with the thrill of the adventurous unknown as another virgin land beckons appropriation. Led by the renegade Pizarros, whose name is immediately recognisable to spectators as a byword for rebellion and waywardness, a small fleet of ships off the coast of Peru has received a hostile reception from the natives.[68] The Spanish party is in search of the new lands and

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[68] The fate of the Pizarros was proverbial: in 1627 Correas recorded *Alzarse como Pizarro con las Indias* with the comment ' El otro día comenzó este refrán y ya es muy notorio, y su historia muy sabida; con que me escuso de alargarme en él, si bien había ocasión de dolernos del valor tan mal logrado de aquellos conquistadores y su mala fortuna' (2000: 74).

territories which might regain them acceptance at home. Having scared the Indians away with blank shots the Spaniards disembark in order to reconnoitre the territory, with Francisco Pizarro the most reckless. Now alone in the vanguard, he carves his way through the jungle with his sword, and a seductive *tableau* is discovered :

> El laberinto frondoso
> desta vmbrosa senda quiero
> diuidir con el azero
> pero que prodigio hermoso
>
> *Parte con la espada las ramas, descubrese Tucapela cacica; suelto el cabello, y vestida de India muy a lo bizarro con aljaua, flechas y arco, durmiendo en vna hamaca, tegida de dos arboles.*
>
> De beldad barbara veo
> en vna hamaca rendido
> al sueño, que sin sentido
> da que sentir al desseo.
> (Vélez de Guevara n.d.: fol.5R-5V)

Pizarro wakes her and she royally inquires:

> Quien
> a despertarme a tenido
> atrevimiento?
> d. Francisco Yo e sido
> que è de prenderte tambien
> (n.d.: fol.5V)

This is a scene pared down to its most essential elements. Before the audience sees Tucapela they recognise Pizarro's circumstance: he is alone, the natives are hostile, the hinterland is uncharted but occupied. The rules which apply to him in Europe are absent here - this is not Flanders or Italy. The jungle labyrinth described by Pizarro confirms its status a wasteland or wilderness, that is, a dangerous, unbuilt and uncivilised territory. Miming the act of forest clearance, with the unsheathed sword's permanent implication of violence, his first contact with the jungle is to use it to part the foliage.

Having conceptualised the land through the metaphor 'laberinto frondoso', the

audience is now presented with a powerful stage-icon: the *tableau* which contains Tucapela. Hidden in the forest is a montage of all that is fraught with simultaneous danger and allure. Here are the threatening weapons (bow and arrows) alongside the sexual invitation of loosened hair; the langourous slumber and posture in the exotic artefact (the hammock); the bizarre costume and her beauty. She demands to know who has woken her, in terms which bespeak authority.

The *tableau* devised by Vélez, although titillating and indulgent of male fantasy with its passive, languid slumber, seductive hammock and loosened hair, is simultaneously replete with danger. Tucapela, the pagan, is fully armed and a threat to Pizarro's life (this dualism being essential to the conceptualisation of the natives). The Conquistador "discovers" a savage beauty which he is minded to possess. This scene, then, located at the sea shore, on the very edge of the uncivilised world, is thrillingly inviting but fraught with peril. The alluring *tableau* has a murderous backdrop.

Having trodden the territory first, Pizarro has now enacted a second "discovery". Here before him is a leader of the aboriginals. She is desirable and attainable, asleep and awaiting the kiss of the Prince who comes to claim his inheritance – among the oldest of literary and folkoric tropes. To possess Tucapela and her slumbering beauty has synecdochic significance - for it will mean to possess Peru and its treasures. The sleep of the woman mirrors the unawakened, undiscovered land. The language of the *acotación* has Tucapela literally revealed ('*descubrese*') as Pizarro pokes his sword into the branches and parts them. The elementary phallic symbolism being pursued here, lies in the use of the verb *prender* - 'asir, agarrar, sujetar una cosa [...] Asegurar a una persona, privándola de la libertad [...] Cubrir o fecundar el macho o fecundarse la hembra' (*Acad.* 1992: 1658).

Pizarro's statement of intent is immediate and blatant: 'è de prenderte' - none of the preamble which defines European courtship or smoothes consent, but the atavism of the rapist; that is civilised man at his least civilised.

The sensuous potential of the scene is not in doubt. The erect and armed Pizarro has the the recumbent Tucapela at his mercy, vulnerable and subservient too his advance. Mistakenly intuiting that Pizarro is a solar deity, Tucapela does not offer resistance: 'eres hijo del cielo' she exclaims (Vélez de Guevara n.d.: fol.5V). The insinuation of sex and submission is blatant: 'Quiero / q̃ me abraçasses primero' she tells him, and this is followed by the stage direction '*Abraçanse*' (n.d.: fol.5V) a staged consummation of his intent.

As with the backdrop to the van der Straet image, however, a threatening context of extreme violence to this moment of passion on stage has been described. In the previous scene, the leader of the Indians Tucal immediately identifies the Spaniards as an enemy: 'no son menos / que enemigos nuestros' (n.d.: fol.4V) and calls upon his people to resist them with arrows and machetes. But when he confronts Francisco Pizarro's landing party, he is not just threatening the Spaniards with conventional warfare, but with the tribe's absent *cacica*. She is what McKenrick has defined as the *bella cazadora* whose weapons include her not only those of the huntress but her perilous beauty.

prouareis nuestras manos
con flechas, y con macanas
Y si sale Tucapela,
Cacica nuestra, a esta injuria,
no se defendera a su furia esse Paxaro [69]
Que a salido con la Aurora
de su Tambo, y en la caça,
que con el arco amenaça,
las selvas penetra agora.
Guardaos del negro arrebol

[69] Here Tucal is referring to the Spanish ship at anchor in the bay.

de sus negros ojos bellos;
que aun tienen que hazer con ellos
mucho los rayos del Sol
(n.d.: fol.4V)

When the Indians disperse after the Spaniards fire shots, they and seek to appease the angry sun-god with an ominous evocation of Human sacrifice: 'vn hombre sacrifiquemos'(n.d.: fol.5R). Thus when the audience is made aware of Tucapela's idolatry in her misapprehension of the nature of Pizarro (something which he mischievously fosters) they are already aware of its homicidal implications. Sure enough, the idyll between Pizarro and Tucapela not only does not endure, but descends into immediate violence. Fearful that she has been robbed of her soul, she threatens Pizarro with her bow and arrow while he sleeps, only to flee when he wakes and points a gun at her.

These postures - sexual infatuation alternating with homicidal violence - are now to characterise the intermittent involvement of Tucapela throughout the action of the play until her eventual acceptance of baptism. The perfunctory nature of her appearances, the lack of trajectory they imply and their formulaic quality are (it now becomes clear) essential to the inscription of the Pizarros, for whose depiction her character serves as a vehicle. In analysing the Tucapela/Pizarro scene in this way I am reducing the protagonists to their most elementary functions: the archetypal and predatory male invader and the beckoning voluptuous siren who invites rape, but threatens violence. This is intentional, because the postures adopted by both characters with regard to the other only develop with reference to the collection of signifiers which this spoken *tableau* presents. The characters now start to move forward according to the demands of the plot, but these developments in turn, can themselves be shown to be an evolving series of pictorial and poetic *tableaux* which orientate the spectator and define the archetypal nature of the protagonists. The

sexual seizure of Tucapela/Peru by Pizarro at the beginning of the play is part of a familiar process in colonial discourse, here described once again by McClintock:

> Having sailed beyond the limits of their charted seas, explorers enter what Victor Turner calls a liminal condition. For Turner, a liminal condition is ambiguous, eluding 'the network of classifications that normally locate states and positions in cultural space.' There on the margins between known and unknown, the male conquistadors, explorers and sailors became creatures of transition and threshold. As such, they were dangerous, for, as Douglas writes: 'Danger lies in transitional states The person who must pass from one to another is himself in danger and emanates danger to others.' As figures of danger, the men of margins were 'licensed to waylay, steal, rape. This behaviour is even enjoined on them. To behave anti-socially is the proper expression of their marginal condition.' At the same time, the dangers represented by liminal people are managed by rituals that separate the marginal ones from their old status, segregating them for a time and then publicly declaring their entry into their new status. Colonial discourse repeatedly rehearses this pattern - dangerous marginality, segregation, reintegration.
> (1995: 24)

This process of marginality, segregation and reintegration applied to the Pizarros is key to this interface between male (Spanish) archetypes and their female (Indian) counterparts. On a broader front, with regard to the troops as a whole (rather than their pious leaders) the rapine, brutality, and violence which is freely shown in many of the plays is a partial response to the chaos which sexual licence threatens. (As is argued elsewhere in this study, such is the potency of anarchic sexual desire that heinous acts of butchery are condoned or even justified, justification being the prime mover in the creative impulse to which these plays owe their existence).

Unlike their saintly peers in other plays, however - don García, Columbus and Cortés - the Pizarros' flaws are there to be redeemed. Thus in the Tirsian trilogy the illegitimacy/dangerous marginality of Francisco, the rebellion of Gonzalo and the imprisonment of Fernando are all subsumed into the rehabilitation exercise. Similarly, the overt sexuality which runs through *Las palabras a los reyes* serves as a vehicle in this redemptive intent. As we now see, the Pizarros' role does evolve away from the continuum in which Tucapela is locked. The love/violence scene just

described is accompanied by a similar series of dramatic vignettes involving Tucapela, which inform on this first encounter. Just as van der Straet's drawing is capable of showing a backdrop of paranoia as perspective recedes, the playwright's medium seeks also to expose the dangers and horrors which incursion implies.

If we now quickly trace the vicissitudes of Tucapela's career through *Las palabras*, we can gather the very same impression from the play which McClintock has described for the engraving. Tucapela's child-like spirituality, her predatory sexuality, idolatry and violence having been established, her characterisation is now confined to automatic rotation on this simplistic axis. In act II she is spotted as she calls for help, cast adrift and clinging to a plank out at sea. She is rescued this time by Fernando Pizarro, who prefaces his action with a remark notable for its total disregard for the exigencies of plausibility in favour of the stereotypical cliché: 'es muger, aunque india fea', he exclaims (Vélez de Guevara n.d.: fol.10R). He is then smitten by her beauty once she is ashore - ample testimony, if it were required, of the purely functional deployment of Indian characters upon the stage.

She in her naivety believes him to be his brother Francisco. The resulting confusion leads to comic exchanges: 'El cielo quiso estremar / belleza en ella, y locura' (n.d.: fol.10V) and eventually she and Fernando are left alone to their 'amores' too (n.d.: fol.10V). Tucapela now explains that she was born of royal blood on the island of Puna, and orphaned. She grew up wild among animals with her bow and arrow. Her shipwreck at sea is due to her abduction by Carib cannibal pirates, who have now been overcome by a storm. These same Caribs have lately captured some Spaniards (the next scene is of the cannibal ritual), and she offers herself as navigator if the Pizarros wish to give chase. So, as with the van der Straet image, the territory is infested with cannibals. And this information also provides the audience

with a series of additional touchstones from which to gauge the nature of the alien, another set of familiar archetypes: she is a Wild Woman, an Amazon, her status as a loose woman is compounded by her abduction and her dalliance with both Francisco and Fernando Pizarro, she is a Marina/Malinche figure who offers her local knowledge to the invader.

When in act III, however, Tucapela encounters Francisco once again and they both declare their passion, her role as counterpoint to the male incursor serves a quite different purpose. Don Francisco, who previously felt compelled to possess her now finds that he cannot give free rein to his lust, for reasons which were deliberately omitted from the first encounter:

Tucapela: Español, tienesme amor?
d. Francisco: El que te puedo tener
siendo Gentil, que ofender
mi Ley con otro era error.
Pago tu amor con el mio
con mi Fè tu ardiente Fè,
ya a ser Christiana, no se,
si hiziera a algun desvario.
(Vélez de Guevara n.d.: fol.13R)

Far from the dangerous marginality of the beginning of the play Francisco is now moving towards a posture of total reintegration. The transition to this new-found status of piety on the part of Francisco is actually indicated in the text as he informs the audience of his decision to absent himself so as to avoid being left alone with her:

por Dios
que estando solos los dos,
que es tentacion de temer
Quiero una escusa buscar, *Aparte*
con que dexalle, que no
soy bronze, ni marmol yo.
(n.d.: fol.13R)[70]

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[70] It seems that this last sentiment would have struck a chord with male theatregoers. Cotarelo y Mori quotes a contemporary commentator on the subject of dances in the *comedia*: 'pues ha de ser más que de hielo el hombre que no se abrase de lujuria viendo una mujer desenfadada y desenvuelta, y algunas veces, para este efecto, vestido como hombre, haciendo cosas que movieran a un muerto' (1997: 494).

The sub-text is of course that the forwardness of Tucapela inscribes the fastidiousness and self-denial of Francisco. He links his motives to the Faith (being careful to reassure the audience of his red-blooded libido before absenting himself). And at this point the religious motif is now reworked as a new and sympathetic archetype is attached to the portrayal of Tucapela: that of intuitive savage convert. As Francisco moves away he leaves her clutching a scapulary which contains a portrait of the Virgin. In her ignorance she perceives this to be a picture of a rival for his affections, but the newly-discovered emotion of jealousy is held in check, as she studies the picture's beauty:

> Amor y respeto ponen
> sus hermosos ojos, Reyna
> de regiones soberanas
> parece; muger que enseñas
> tanta deidad en ti misma,
> quien eres, que en tu presencia
> todo el Cielo está cifrado
> con los mejores Planetas
> .....
> Que me abrasso, que me abrasso;
> perdonadme imagen bella,
> que tengo zelos de vos;
> aunque siempre que os contemplã
> los ojos, templais del alma
> tantas ansias, tantas quexas.
> (n.d.: fol.13V-14R)

In this mode, Tucapela's intuition offers her a glimmer of Christian faith, which Francisco's brother momentarily goes on to encourage. The notion of intuitive conversion, latent Christianity, dormant in a wilderness once evangelized, is a pervasive one in the corpus. The fact that Vélez has Tucapela adopt this stance, albeit temporarily, prefigures her eventual conversion to the Faith, but not before another manifestation as *bárbara.* On being rejected by Francisco, who threatens to kill her if she continues to importune him, she reverts to rage and violence ('voy / virtiendo veneno') and fires a stolen harquebus at him (n.d.: fol.14V). The gun is not loaded,

however, and Francisco countermands Fernando's order 'Matadla' (n.d.: fol.14V). She reappears with the same harquebus atop a hill as the final battle looms, now in warrior mode - a splendid *coup de théâtre* (n.d.: fol.15R). Once this battle has been won, Fernando's exclamation in victory secures the point being made here, in similar vein to the emblematic mode posited for Atabaliba and Caupolicán previously: he cries 'La mayor gloria es prender a Tucapela' (n.d.: fol.16R). This is his declaration at the moment that the Conquest of Peru is achieved, thus returning the spectator to the original, liminal encounter and to Francisco's initial exclamation: 'te è de prender'. The mission is accomplished and her status as both figurative and allegorical conceptualisation is made clear. This is the elision of two possessions: territory and its allegorical incarnation in female form. The allegory comprises the reduction and pacification of the Inca Empire as analogous to that of Tucapela. There remains only one item of unfinished business; she is now transported to the metropolis for baptism, where (as previously mentioned) she is presented "in the place of " Atabaliba as a trophy of imperial victory. Her godparents are the Emperor and Empress. This is the essence of the hegemonic relationship; the willing acquiescence of the conquered in their own subjection.

Meanwhile the Pizarros find themselves restored to favour. The dangerous marginality and segregation represented by their disputes with the Crown - their exploits in the Indies, the accusations of treason levelled against them, and their casual coupling with Indian women - is compensated by their formal reintegration. This has been initiated by their pious evangelisation and their eventual affirmation as loyal subjects of the Emperor (and the tribute of land and bounty that they bring to Spain).

Of Tucapela, who has been the principal facilitator of this process,

McKendrick has observed:

> Straightforward warrior queens are common enough figures in the Spanish theatre. In their constant search for material, however, the playwrights were by no means reluctant to wander more exotic paths for variations on their theme. Alas distinctiveness does not necessarily entail distinction, and the presentation of even these female leaders is ultimately usually banal and automatic. That of Tucapela [...] certainly is.
>
> (1974: 187)

Why banal and automatic? Because her characterisation is intended only to inscribe what the Conquistador encounters and overcomes. As such her function is as fixed as van der Straet's icon of América who, naked and alluring in welcome, threatens the predatory male by virtue of the torrid scenes of violent excess which recede into the background of the image as a whole. In the play, this pattern is mimicked as we see Tucapela run a gamut of female native stereotypes, from Wild Woman to intuitive convert. Her carnality provides for Francisco Pizarro to demonstrate, on the one hand, his potency and virility, on the other, his disciplined rejection of temptation and devotion to the Faith. Tucapela's curiosity about the portrait of the Virgin allows an iconic counterpoint to her paganism and permits Fernando to enlarge upon it in pious terms. For the Spanish spectator of the era, the initial response of the Pizarros to the sexual allure of a native woman is reassuringly virile (as we see in the opening hammock scene). But this woman is an idolator or victim of the Arch-deceiver, and as the conquest of the Inca Empire nears its realisation, the pleasures of the flesh are to be abjured in pursuit of nobler causes, the annexation of territory and souls.

In other words, Tucapela's function as a character is strictly regulated so as to provide a series of evolving archetypes which serve as a catalyst for the actions of the Conquistadors. The Spanish fears and desires implicit in the encounter with the inhabitants of the New World are met, in this instance, in the Pizarros, whose mission here is to discover, conquer, evangelise, and finally loyally consign the new territory

to the rightful ruler Charles V. The violence, aggression, energy, discipline, piety and patriotism required for these tasks are inscribed by Tucapela.

* * *

Tucapela's presence in the play can be seen, then, as figurative in the conventional sense, attaching to the kind of archetypal characterisation deployed in the *comedia* as a whole. However, the 'banal and automatic' nature of her appearances are suggestive of the function of an evolving icon, who is adjusted to a series of pre-determined *tableaux* representing various permutations of the theme of love, sex and violence. But what is the genesis of these *tableaux*? Some indication of Tucapela's heritage has been alluded to, and in the introduction to this study I have drawn attention to an array of iconographic, literary, folkloric and festival elements ingrained in the consciousness of seventeenth-century spectators. These inevitably condition their response to actors on the boards, dressed-up and painted as Indians.

Among the variety of postures adopted by Indian women on the way to salvation and loyal subjection, the most arresting is the heady mixture of sex and violence. In this section I extend the analysis of the fusion of love, sex and violence across the corpus, and show how playwrights alternate between stereotypical postures ascribed to female Indians. As is the case with Tucapela and Guacolda just cited, authors appear to show little interest in aiming at consistency or coherence in their representation of native females, whose objective is always to inscribe the male. We can examine native love, sex and violence through a series of filters: blind infatuation with Spanish men; physical violence in combat with them; the assimilation of sex and

violence among the Indians; and the rescue of Spanish lovers from violent death. As we shall see, whichever posture is assigned by playwrights at a given moment in the drama, its function is purely iconic, and ultimately – disposable. Principal among these temporary, functional postures in their inscription of the male is the manner in which sexual guilt is assigned to Indian women as objects of carnal desire, through their nudity and promiscuity, and even through a suggestion of transgressional sex.

By way of illustration of the ephemeral nature of the Indian women's "characterisation", I engage two apparent anomalies: the trope of the "ugly" savage female, who is simultaneously the subject of poeticised European canons of beauty; and the depiction of the chaste pagan female, with Christian values of virtue and honour, who resists, rather than beckons, rape. I discuss this a prelude to the identification of carnality in the plays as associated with weakness and military defeat, on the one hand, and as an incentive to bloodshed on the other. Both these tropes are mingled indiscriminately in the contextualisation of Indian defeat and the inscription of a hierarchy of Spanish male virtue.

The "Achilles heel" of all native females is their susceptibility to love. This provides for a rich vein of transactional relationships between the conquerors and the conquered – almost always between Indian women and Spanish men. In preparing the ground for these relationships on stage, playwrights are not slow to exploit the thrill of forbidden fruit which stage-Indian woman offer. Loose hair, bodily adornments, and langourous postures combine with bows, arrows and harquebuses to provoke a tingle of excitement (mingled with apprehension) in the spectator. The beautiful but dangerous Dácil, in *Los guanches de Tenerife*, for example is introduced as '*hija del Rey, tendido el cabello, con su arco y flechas*' (Vega 1950b: 67). The emblematic implication here is of course that loose hair poses a danger commensurate

with arrows.

From this *acotación* it might appear that bows and arrows are included only as emblematic objects of the Indian women. This would certainly be the correct interpretation in *El Brasil restituido* for example, where Lope has El Brasil personified as a 'dama yndia' carrying a 'flecha dorada como dardo' in the manner of a sceptre (1929: 26). This idea is further reinforced by Fresia's appearance carrying bow and arrows, for no apparent reason, in the love scene with Caupolicán in *Arauco domado* (Vega 1993: 82). But is not unusual for the women in the corpus to actually use these weapons: we see arrows playing a functional role as a stage property in the scene involving Tucapela and Francisco Pizarro in *Las palabras* (Vélez de Guevara n.d.: fol.6R). *Amazonas en las Indias* bursts into action in riotous fashion with a thrilling male versus female battle on stage which demonstrates that the women's weapons are not just symbolic in their associations:

> *Tocan a guerra y salen peleando Menalipe, Martesia y otras Amazonas. La primera con hacha de armas, la otra con un bastón y todas con arcos y aljabas de flechas a las espaldas; y contra ellas españoles bizarros, entre los cuales salen Francisco Caravajal y Gonzalo Pizarro, llena éste la rodela de flechas.*
>
> (Molina 1993b: III, 15)

Pizarro, sportingly, refuses to draw his sword against a female, but this is not always to be the case when men and women are in hand-to-hand combat: Fresia wades into battle in *Los españoles en Chile* but has to surrender in a sword fight to two Spanish soldiers (González de Bustos 1665: fol.8V). The arming of the Indian women, and their use of weapons, has a function which goes beyond mere adornment or on stage *charivari*. The violence of the women is inevitably used to calibrate the violence of their men. In *Arauco domado*, Gualeva threatens to take to the battlefield herself if Rengo does not rescue her husband Tucapel. She grabs a machete (*macana*) and threatens the chieftain in order to 'hacer, infame, que sientas / que este femenil

cabello / cubre un alma varonil' (an intriguing association of loose hair and violence) (Vega 1993: 96). He in turn orders her to be disarmed, at which she explodes in anger:

> Más diré que te vencí
> y que te dejé temblando;
> que por no me detener
> en buscar mi dueño amado,
> no te mato afeminado.

With lofty restraint, Rengo overrules her by situating all female Indian aggression within a familiar context. He attributes her outburst to 'loco amor' and explains:

> Eres Gualeva, mujer:
> habla, di lo que quisieres,
> que para hablar con dolor
> ha días que dió el amor
> gran licencia a las mujeres.
> (Vega 1993: 97)

And although Gualeva matches deeds with words and single-handedly rescues Tucapel from his escort-party, killing all the Spaniards with her machete (Vega 1993: 103) she is indeed portrayed by Lope as not only mad with love, but also with jealousy; she suspects that Tucapel loves another woman.

This is always the context ascribed to female violence in the plays. Not only are weapons sexual symbols but, with the Indian women, there is a universal tendency to link their aggression ('dar gran licencia') to affairs of the heart, to excess of emotion, grief or compassion. Thus, the lovestruck Tipolda in *El nuevo rey Gallinato* is distressed enough to challenge the hero to a duel when spurned, and later exclaims '¡Que ansí me venza el amor! / Mas soy india y soy mujer!' (Claramonte 1983: 277).

An equally explicit example of the emotion assigned to the Indian women's violence and sexual allure occurs in *Fray Luis Bertrán* when the beautiful but vicious Indian queen Teolinda is out hunting wild-boar (*venado*) in *bella cazadora* mode. She

receives an ill-advised declaration of passion from her minion, Lautaro, and orders him to be killed on the spot. Just as her order is about to be executed, she capriciously reverses it with a specific reference to her own emblematic, as opposed to figurative, role:

> Dentro vna misma persona
> Reyna y muger se han juntado,
> y este a quien el cielo abona
> la Reyna le ha sentenciado,
> y la muger le perdona
>
> (Aguilar 1914: 83-84)

So no matter how powerful, violent and sexually threatening these Indian women appear, they are always portrayed with stereotypical feminine susceptibilities to love, and the two moods are manipulated by playwrights at will. The instance cited of Tucapela in *Las palabras a los reyes* is a case in point: she is immediately smitten by the appearance of Francisco Pizarro, whom she aggressively courts, only to point her bow and arrow at him while he sleeps. Having enjoyed a brief idyll with his brother Fernando also, she shoots at Francisco with a harquebus, when rejected. She then appears on a hill wielding the weapon to rally the Indian troops for the climactic battle with the Spaniards. Moments later she accepts conversion to the Faith! This bewildering array of interventions is one of the best examples of the "roller-coaster" effect to which certain female characters are subjected in the corpus.

This convention obtains because, at any given point, the visual aspect of the women may have an abstract emblematic quality, but this also informs on the requirements of the plot. The dramatic trajectory of some of the native women is vast, but this does not imply character development as such, merely an evolution in posture, which can be extreme and peremptory. This is especially evident in the trope present throughout the corpus requiring that Spanish males be seen to inflame the passion of the Indian women. The women's enthusiastic response is so frequent as to

operate as an automatic device, and such is the intensity of their passion that it is seen to transcend the racial divide. This is the case in *El nuevo rey Gallinato*, where Tipolda's passion for Gallinato is sufficient to sustain a major sub-plot which even culminates in their marriage. In *Los españoles en Chile*, Fresia's desire for don Diego is also treated at considerable length (in primarily comic mode), as the two alternate between enemy camps in pursuit of a lovers' tryst. In one tense incident, however, Indian troops are searching for Fresia, and they corner her supposed abductor don Diego, who rushes at his attackers. But at this point an *acotación* reads: '*Fresia le defiende, poniendose delante*' (González de Bustos 1665: fol.9R), and she fights alongside him, in what is not only a visually arresting stage-gesture, but an affirmation of female subjugation to love for the foreign invader.

In a similar incident in *Los guanches de Tenerife*, Dácil the native princess, having connived at her own abduction by the Spaniard Castillo - 'que no voy tan descontenta / como imaginas, contigo' she informs him (Vega 1950b: 76) - is immediately confronted by local troops. The order is issued to kill the Spaniard, but she uses her royal prerogative to countermand it and save Castillo from death : 'Yo lo mando, capitán: / ¡no le matéis! / ... Esto que digo es mi gusto' (1950b: 77).

On occasion, authors feel confident enough to stage the facility of this irresistible attraction on a communal level: *La conquista de México* has various Indian women, Glaura, Glauca, Guaicanaba, and Alcinda, immediately besotted by their first view of white men: '¡Qué hermosura y gentileza!'; 'Tan hermosos hombres'; 'Ya me ocupan los sentidos / con dulcísimos enojos' (Zárate 1993: 213). In *Los españoles en Chile* Fresia and Gualeva even share out male Spanish prisoners of war (González de Bustos 1665: fol.4V). [71] Claramonte is even bold enough to

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[71] One of them is in fact doña Juana in male attire!

introduce a titillating interlude which goes well beyond the frisky frivolity of the transvestite farce, and is presumably included in order to associate vice *per se with* the New World location, for it involves not only an Indian woman, but a Spanish female as well. In *El nuevo rey Gallinato*, doña María has taken refuge among the Indians in male disguise, and becomes an object of desire and sexual jealousy from surprising quarters. Goaded by his companion Guacán, the warrior Tucapel is angered by the attentions being lavished upon doña María by his beloved Tipolda (who believes María to be a man). The jealous Tucapel then questions Tipolda's father, the Indian king (who believes Maria to be a god) in the following *risqué* exchanges:

Guacán: También les oí decir
que habían de dormir juntos.
Tucapel: A más furia me provoca.
¡Ah, mujer liviana y loca!
Guacán: Y después los miré atentos
pasándose los alientos
de una boca en otra boca.
.....

Sale el rey Guacol, viejo

.....

Tucapel: Y que duerma con tu hija
¿aquesto no te atropella?
Rey: Duerma con mi hija bella,
y más, Tucapel, te digo:
que ha de dormir conmigo
cuando no duerma con ella.

(Claramonte 1983: 211-212)[72]

This apart, the location of the trope of carnal laxity in the New World seems also to require some accommodation to be made with pejorative perceptions of the

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[72] The only comparable reference to these very frank exchanges is to be found in *El Nuevo Mundo*, in what Lemartinel and Minguet call an 'allusion discrète a la sodomie des Indiens' (Vega 1980: 61). It is made by the Indian Tapirazú in reference to the natives' mythical ancestors: 'Contaba destos mi abuelo / que por allí se juntaban / hombres con hombres' (1980: 21). This also appears to have little other purpose than to conjure an atmosphere of lasciviousness and perversion in the realm of the Devil. Elsewhere, Ruiz Ramón speculates that Zárate's *La conquista de México* might intend the figure of Idolatría ('reina de este mundo indiano') to be construed as a 'sacerdotisa de Eros', deriving from the use of the word 'erotiza' by Religión (Zárate 1993: 227 note 68). This would add to the tally of wickedness by associating her lasciviousness to those already listed, but the example is inconclusive.

aspect presented by Indian women. This might seem to pose something of a conundrum for authors: how to reconcile the often expressed contempt for their bestial aspect as savages with the requirement that - if the Spaniards are to linger with them - the women be shown as plausibly attractive on stage? The banal solution is to represent Indian women as alluring and exotic when plot requires it, but also to remark upon them as bestial and ugly when other circumstances dictate. The corpus redounds with epithets for the Indians, from which women are not exempt. Normally this is contained by means of the exculpatory device of putting the insults in the foul mouth of the *gracioso*. *La sentencia sin firma* has a braggart soldier, now returned to Spain from the Indies, reminisce about Indian women, their bizarre names and their ugliness:

> Esta si que es tierra
> donde son nombres que corren
> Iuana, Beatriz, Madalena,
> y no allà, Caquitacuça,
> Melinda, Taiti, Zumella,
> con aspectos Saturninos,
> sobre caras de baqueta
>
> (Ávila 1652: fol.123R)

This is to be compared with the more scrupulous forms of address employed by the *graciosos*' masters. For example, in part IV of *El español entre todas las naciones*, the clown Marcos mocks the *mulata* princess Carabina: 'Por dios q(ue) es la perra altiua' (Anon. 1634: fol.23R) before presenting her to his master, Ordóñez de Ceballos as 'aquesta perilla ... / que coxi en esta conquista' (Anon. 1634: fol.24R). In contrast, Ordóñez, ever polite, addresses her later as 'Carabina hermosa'(Anon. 1634: 34R). Similarly, *Los españoles en Chile* has the *gracioso* Mosquete call his captor, Fresia, 'perra' twice in the same scene (González de Bustos 1665: fol.5R). But this is of course the same woman initially proclaimed as 'reyna vniuersal de la hermosura'

by Caupolicán (1665: fol.1V). Fresia's first encounter with don Diego so captivates him that his reaction perhaps encapsulates the paradox of trepidation and desire crystallised in the Indian female figure (and which is so apparent in the van der Straet image). He encounters her after her skirmish with two Spanish soldiers and exclaims:

Aparte ¡Mis ojos
no han visto tal hermosura!
.....
Quiẽ eres; diuino mõstruo?
quien eres? que como à Dios,
oy à tus plantas me postro?

Leuanta la espada, y dasela

Buelua el azero à tu mano,
vibra en mi pecho tu odio;
pero no, que ya me has muerto
con los rayos de tus ojos.
(González de Bustos 1665: fol.9R)

Such is the formulaic nature of the epithets and insults such as *fea* and *monstruo* that they appear, at times, to contradict dramatic requirements. When in *Las palabras* Fernando Pizarro spots Tucapela shipwrecked at sea, his reaction from a distance is to declare that 'es muger, aunque india fea'. Upon having rescued her, however, he describes her immediately as:

Tierna barbara, y hermosa
puede a Venus competir,
que del salado zafir
nacio a Chipre Reyna y diosa.
(Vélez de Guevara n.d.: fol.10R)

Pizarro now takes Tucapela as his lover, and it seems that part of the resolution of the dilemma of (animalisation-versus-idealisation) of the native women is to have their allure adjusted, as dramatic requirements dictate, to a stylised European model. This much is evident in Fernando Pizarro's extravagant classical allusion. The device is frequently reinforced in the plays by the suggestion of nudity.

As in the allegorical prescriptions for iconography of Ripa, and as displayed in the engraving by van der Straet (which use exclusively naked white European women to represent Indians), the ultimate expression of allure is centred upon this. And of all the suggestive ploys that drama might exploit, this is the most provocative. On the stage of course this can only manifest itself as a suggestion, and in practice its use as a trope is confined to the representation of an irressistible incitement to lasciviousness (in itself, a device loaded with guilt). For example, when in *El Nuevo Mundo*, Palca is courted by the Spanish soldier Arana, and immediately yields to his advances (much to his amazement) he ascribes this immediately to Indian women's state of undress:

> No vi tal facilidad.
> Por deshonra tienen éstas
> el negar la voluntad;
> que del no vestirse honestas
> les nace la enfermedad.
> .....
> A andar así las mujeres
> de España, ¿quién se quejara?
> (Vega 1980: 35)

The context provided by such scenes is important in our understanding of the (heavily circumscribed) portrayal of Spanish corruption is intended to be perceived by the spectator. The guilt of the soldiery in their lust for native females is attenuated by the unedurable provocation which the idea of nudity represents, and which is most easily conveyed by the titillating dramatic suggestion of the female bathing offstage: in *Los guanches de Tenerife*, for example, Dácil announces that she is about to undress and dismisses her male attendants, one of whom rejects the suggestion to spy upon her 'porque dar gloria a los ojos / es infierno a los deseos'. The native male thus supplies the exculpatory rationale for the sexual encounter which now follows. Sure enough, Dácil is interrupted as she about to bathe by the Spanish officer Castillo, who is

immediately inflamed by desire and grabs her from a tree where she has taken refuge (Vega 1950b: 73). Once again, the characterisation of the native female is usurped by an emblematic gesture. In these instances, the topics of nudity and bathing identify them solely as icons of desire, and as the Spanish soldier Arana suggests this rule applies not to just one Indian woman, but to all of them.

The playfulness of these instances, however, gives way to darker reflections elsewhere, in the corpus, where the trope works as a vehicle for the depiction of Spanish corruption among the lower ranks, aberrant officers or rival conquistadors. Their sex- and gold-fever are unequivocally linked as part of a wider exploration of the association between carnality and military defeat. There is in fact a rather disapproving view taken of the actual impact of uninhibited sex or nudity, from both the pragmatic and the moralistic viewpoint.

To take the link between carnality and corruption first: there are plenty of instances in the corpus in which the predatory posture of Spanish troops and commanders is exposed, as they alternate flattery of the Indian women with blatant villainy. The *auto* *Las cortes de la muerte,* that lascasian primer of all that is reprehensible in the Spanish Conquest of the Indians, interrogates the general issue directly by associating rape with gold-fever:

> ¿Qué hija, mujer ni hermana
> tenemos que no haya sido
> más que pública mundana
> por esta gente tirana
> que todo lo ha corrompido?
> Para sacar los anillos
> ¿Qué dedos no se cortaron?
> ¿Qué orejas para zarcillos
> no rompieron con cuchillos?
> ¿Qué brazos no destrozaron?
> ¿Qué vientres no traspasaron
> las espadas con gran lloro?
> Destos males ¿qué pensaron?
> ¿Qué en los cuerpos sepultaron

nuestros indios su tesoro?
(Carvajal/Hurtado 1993: 262)

However, this elision of rapine and rape, the identification of the violation of the physical integrity of the Indians with the crazed hunt for treasure is treated in the corpus via the escape-clause provided by comedy. In one such light moment, gold is specifically identified with the physicality of the Indian women. Lope makes this clear in the scene just cited from *El Nuevo Mundo* in which the Spanish soldier Arana's exchange with Palca is unusually blatant. He expresses his contempt for her promiscuity while comparing her charms to a hoard of gold:

Arana: De ésta quiero ser galán
aunque en disgusto redunde
de cuántos con ella están.
Palca, ¿cómo va de pechos,
a ver?
Palca: Que no tengo oro.
Arana: De eso estarán satisfechos.
Sólo estos vuestros adoro,
que de oro mejor son hechos.
No busco aquel oro aquí,
de que ya tengo un tesoro.
Palca: Pues ¿cuál oro?
Arana: El tuyo
Palca: Ansí,
pues, serás crisol de oro
y tendrásme toda en ti
(Vega 1980: 34-5)

The representation of native women as naked and promiscuous can be seen, then, to discharge the function of contextualising (and in some way excusing) the conduct of Spanish men. But this posture on the part of the females being entirely formulaic, it cannot in any way be asigned to reality. The purely functional nature of the trope of loose sexuality is demonstrated by the willingnes of playwrights to dispense with it at any given moment. In a comparably humorous scene from *La lealtad contra la envidia* combining the themes of gold-lust and rape, Tirso ignores

the stereotype of the libidinous female savage because his objective is to discredit these impulses in an aberrant Spanish soldier. He shows that, even in humorous mode, the *topos* of the physical possession of the Indian women is marked as part of a continuum of wickedness. In what Zugasti calls an 'episodio entremesil' (Molina 1993c: IV, 108) the *gracioso* Castillo is about to murder the chieftain Inga when Guaica intervenes to save him. Castillo is immediately fired with lust, first for her, then for hidden treasure:

Castillo: ¿El indio que patrocinas
es tu marido?
Guaica: Serálo.
Castillo: ¿Bodas de futuro? ¡Malo!
Con celos me desatinas.
¿Estás intacta?
Guaica: No entiendo.
Castillo: Si estás ilesa, incorrupta,
o el consonante de la fruta
te meretriza.[73]

Guaica (in contrast to the Indian women in *El Nuevo Mundo*) insists she is chaste. Despite having been the captive of a Spaniard for a year, she claims to have refused all his blandishments, an assertion which draws nothing but vulgar derision from Castillo and a threat to cut Inga's throat. Desperate, Guaica, makes a last throw of the dice:

No querrás de una mujer
¡oh español!, que de rodillas
su honestidad te encomienda,
ser lascivo violador.
¿Rescatarle no es mejor?
Cien barras vale mi hacienda;
tu incendio ilícito aplaca,
yo te haré dueño della.
(Molina 1993c: IV, 104)

Castillo is, of course, immediately distracted. He fantasises about what he can can

[73]Zugasti explains this joke as the combination of the rhyme with *puta*, and the meaning of *meretriza* as "place into prostitution" (Molina 1993: IV, 102 note).

buy with 100,000 *pesos* :

> Compro un juro,
> un mayorazgo opulento
> que me ensanche el *coram vobis*,
> o para el *bóbilis vobis*,
> *vita bona*, un regimiento.
> A cargas el chocolate,
> y dos coches echaré
> que es el *venite post me*
> de toda dama tomate.
> ¿Dónde está lo barretudo?
> (1993c: IV, 105-6)

She claims the gold is hidden in a well. Castillo peers into it, only for Guaica to grab his feet and throw him in:

> Allá irás
> con toda la maldición.
> Busque el oro tu codicia,
> que no has de hallar, pues te infama.
> Apague el agua la llama
> de tu insaciable avaricia.
> (1993c: IV, 107-8)

She makes good her own and Inga's escape, and Castillo is pulled from the well by the feet by one of a trio of Spanish soldiers. They, by chance, have hidden their own booty there, in attempt to cheat the 'común repartición' (1993c: IV, 109) and the Emperor's *quinto*. They are profiting from their captains' and comrades' absence to retrieve it:

> *Tiran hasta sacarle todo el cuerpo hasta la garrucha, y sale asido de sus pies Castillo y huyen los tres, y sale embarrado cara y manos, y atada una petaca a la cintura*
> (1993c: IV, 112)

Castillo, amazed, has found the saddlebag of loot, and the swindlers themselves are swindled of their ill-gotten gains. But without undermining the levity of the scene the playwright makes the link to the intrinsic evil of Castillo's conduct via burlesque reference to the Devil - in this instance the 'diablos mondapozos' which the terrified trio believe Castillo (stinking and black with mud) to be (1993c: IV, 110).

This *gracioso* episode, like the last, firmly links gold-lust to carnal desire. It condemns both vices by means of ridicule and comic reference to the Devil. Guaica clearly identifies Castillo, not as a lover, but as a would-be rapist ('lascivo violador'), and Tirso is vehement in his caricature of the would-be *perulero* with grandiose intentions - a traditional object of contempt in the *comedia* as the returning *indiano.* This figure is surely the one referred to also in serious mode, in the *auto Las cortes de la muerte*, where the figure of Carne asks of Satan:

> Hermano, ¿no ves las galas
> del mundo fuera de ley;
> cuántos palacios y salas;
> y a cada ruin nacen alas
> de vestirse como el rey?
>
> (Carvajal/Hurtado 1993: 267)

Despite the comic treatment, the criticism of Spanish corruption embedded in this sketch is considerable.The posture adopted by Guaica here is also highly significant. In this particular instance, Tirso endows the Indian woman with the chastity and loyalty of the idealised Christian Spaniard. Despite the fact that this posture goes directly against the typology analysed so far, the moral point of the comic scenes is to humiliate and damn by association (to the Devil) the corrupt Spanish soldier and his lust for gold. The Indian woman's representation is therefore as little more than a vehicle for the playwright to press home truisms regarding the less worthy transatlantic adventurers among Spanish men. In this instance common soldiers are the object of amusement and censure for their venality.

The loose sexuality of the New World location has other, more profound, implications. Contained in the depiction of the Christian paragons (Columbus, Cortés, don García) is their resistance to the temptations of the flesh. Gold-lust is not the only companion of rape, therefore. Carnal licence detracts from the supposed principal impulses to conquest: the evangelisation of the Indians, and their subjection to the

monarquía universal. Almost the first action of the saintly Cortés in *La conquista de México* is to thwart the intentions of the nefarious foot-soldier Ortuño with three native women in tow. The soldier curses: 'oh celos vanos, / que está el capitán aquí / ...No os quejéis de esa manera, / ni lo que habéis visto en mí' (Zárate 1993: 211). Cortés's rebuke resides in his mocking elevation of Ortuño's status, and the ironic attribution of his action in escorting the women to higher but improbable motives :

> Tú has hecho al fin como hidalgo.
> Hijas, de Cristo, la Fe
> de mi tierra me ha traído,
> y el daros al rey de España
> por Rey.
>
> (1993: 212)

To succumb to the flesh can, in fact, draw consequences which eclipse momentary humiliation (Castillo) or frustration (Ortuño) and whose impact outstrips comic treatment. The soldier Terrazas's plan to rape Tacuana in Lope's *El Nuevo Mundo* is not attenuated by her own apparent connivance. Fuelled by lust, Terrazas's deceit of the Indian chieftain Dulcanquellín (in order to abduct his concubine Tacuana) precipitates the collapse of the first Christian colony in the New World and the slaughter of his Spanish compatriots. Prior to this, the sanctimonious lectures on the Faith and good kingship delivered by Terrazas are an excruciating and ironic reminder of how far he has fallen from the ideal of evangelisation exemplified by Columbus in the play.

An important element of the essentially censorious depiction of Spaniards who abuse their advantage over the Indians, is the culpability which attaches to the status and rank of the perpetrator, as Cortés's barbed use of the word *hidalgo* has suggested. Officers and gentlemen are not themselves immune from the weakness of the flesh. In the corpus, it is made clear that Spanish commanders should at least aspire to the most fastidious conduct (even if - as is the case with the Pizarros - such virtue has to

be acquired the hard way, during the course of the play's action).[74] In *El gobernador prudente*, don García has to intervene to prevent a dispute between two Spanish captains, don Felipe and don Luis, over the favours of the captured Guacolda, who appeals to their sense of honour as gentlemen and begs for death rather than submit: 'Si sois los dos caballeros, / que me déis la muerte os pido' (Ávila 1917: 91). Once again, the posture allocated to Guacolda – the Spanish Christian lady defending her virtue - responds, not to type, but to circumstances determined by the inscription of Spaniards as either aberrant or virtuous. If the purpose of these scenes is to reveal the shortcomings of the invaders, then the native women respond in the required manner - by switching into civilised European mode. The epitome of Christian chivalry in all his appearances on stage, the youthful don García is given to formulation of the most explicit requirements of his compatriots in the plays, but here his piety is tinged with a warrior's pragmatism: [75]

Conozco que es su beldad
la causa de esta porfía
Y si amorosas pasiones
turban honrosos blasones
menos dañoso ser puede
que libre una india quede,
que presos dos corazones:
que aunque pensar fuera error,
que se reduce a delito
el gusto donde hay honor,
flaquezas del apetito
entorpecen el valor.

(Ávila, 1917: 91-2)

This last remark is an allusion to the "real" threat: don García here touches on the other great danger posed by lustful appetites. It is not by chance that certain plays in

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[74] In act III of Tirso's *Todo es dar en una cosa* for example (while still in Spain) the whorish nurse Pulida is saved from the same fate at the hands of three Spanish soldiers by the erstwhile reprobate Francisco Pizarro. He is now an *alférez*, and determined to secure discipline with draconian penalties, which are subsequently sanctioned by the Queen (Molina, 1993: II,166ff).

[75] Don García is allocated a long monologue by Ávila in which to describe in detail the humane treatment of the Indians to be expected from all his compatriots (Ávila 1917: 54-56).

the corpus contain cautionary *exempla* regarding the pernicious distraction represented by love in time of war. Lope prefaces the plot of *El Nuevo Mundo* with the salutary tale of Mahomet, *rey chico* of Granada who, in act I, lingers with Dalifa instead of meeting the Christians in battle. Amid flattery he cedes the city to the Catholic Monarchs (which historic event of course precipitates the royal decision to sponsor the Columbian expedition westwards - the fate of empires thus turning on a lover's caprice). Claramonte peppers *El nuevo rey Gallinato* with references to the hero's namesake Rodrigo, the legendary king of the Visigoths who lost Spain to the Muslims through his dalliance with the moorish woman La Cava. In the play Gallinato is disciplined in his self-denial of female company until conquest is achieved, and is facetiously contrasted with the dissolute king (Claramonte 1983: 240).[76] The underlying message contained is that Indian female sensuality - stylised or otherwise - has a price. It is even a signal of the impending doom of the Indian peoples: *Arauco domado* has a Europeanised Fresia invited by Caupolicán to bathe with him.[77] He invites her to the water and asks her to : 'aquí bañarte / tú, que a sus vidrios en blancura excedes' (Vega 1993: 83). This alien pastime, with its indecent undertones, alerts the spectator to its folly.[78] Lured into complacency, they undress

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[76] For a discussion of the role of the legend in the play, see De Armas (1991: 5).

[77] For a discussion of the treatment of the topic of Caupolicán's bath in epic poetry and the New World plays, see Lauer (1993).

[78] Bathing had indecent connotations for Spaniards, as Stannard reports:

> Inspired by the example of Muslims living in Spain during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, public baths slowly spread throughout Europe during the course of the next two hundred years. By the turn of the fourteenth century, Paris, for instance, had about two dozen public baths. In some of them a visitor might encounter what the Italian writer Poggio did on a visit to Zurich in the early fifteenth century: partially clad men and women singing and drinking, and 'young girls, already ripe for marriage, in the fullness of their nubile forms . . . standing and moving like goddesses . . . their garments forming a floating train on the surface of the waters'.
>
> By the end of the fifteenth century, however, the baths were being closed throughout Europe; within half a century more they were gone. (The Spanish, in particular, had never supported regular bathing, public or otherwise, associating it with Islam and thus regarding it as 'a mere cover for Mohammedan ritual and sexual promiscuity'.) Similarly, brothels had been tolerated and even given municipal institutional status in some European communities during the fourteenth and early fifteenth century. But, just as bath houses began being closed by authorities in the 1470s, so too were the brothels; like the public baths, open brothels effectively had disappeared by the mid-sixteenth century (1992: 161).

and bathe offstage while the enemy threatens, and are denounced by Tucapel as '¡bañando, cuando abrasando / de inquietud a Arauco veis' (1993: 84). Their lust and arrogance is then penalised by their scalding in the lake of fire, followed by a demon's prediction that the Spaniards will vanquish them. Here we see a classical beauty attributed to the Indian female figure which, when cited by the male, will inscribe his reaction - in this case, a fatal weakness in Caupolicán's warrior resolve.

Similarly inscribed is Motezuma, paralysed by indecision as Cortés encroaches, and wallowing in the empty reassurance of his beautiful wife Glafira in *La conquista de México.* While she falsely prophesies Cortés's certain death, Motezuma serenades her with a poem reminiscent of Caupolicán's Europeanised homage to Fresia:

basta ver estos cabellos,
que me enlazan y me prenden,
que ellos ser de oro pretenden;
basta ver tu frente hermosa,
con los dos arcos que miden
de amor el cielo y dividen
esos dos campos de rosa;
basta escuchar las palabras
de esa boca celestial,
y que tesoro oriental
del mar de sus perlas abras,
para suspender mi pena.
... Y tu amor
mi poder inmenso enfrena
para dejar de ir a hacer
castigar a éste español
(Zárate 1993: 251)

Despite three messages announcing Cortés's march, Motezuma can only seek to appease him with gifts: 100, 000 gold *pesos*, gold vessels, and finally the sybaritic adornment of 'aquella hamaca / de oro y perlas' (none of which, naturally, deflect the Conquistador) (Zárate 1993: 253). Motezuma's aide, Teudellí, spells out the significance of the scene in bitter remarks to his master: 'No pierdas por cobardía / la

excelencia de quien eres' (1993: 253). This significance takes precedence over visual reality. Glafira's golden locks and rosy cheeks are not meant as literal descriptions of her appearance (although it is entirely possible that such a physical type may well have taken the role in any production) but a signifier of beauty which allows the scene to function in archetypal terms. The characterisation is thus dovetailed to audience expectations so that the author's intention in using the *topos* might succeed. Again the native female inscribes the langourous native male, who in turn inscribes the relentless Christian Conquistador. Cortés thus benefits from the unspoken corollary that the Spaniard cannot be distracted by sensual delights.

There is a rhetorical rationalisation which may be offered for the allocation of parallel conflicting identities or the abrupt changes of posture that playwrights impose upon the native women. In the introduction to this study I discuss Smith's analysis of *Peribañez* and the function of characterisation as illustrative of archetypes. The same process is under way here with regard to the Indian women: their presence is required to provide a hierarchical spectrum of response from the males. The Indian men may respond passionately or in military terms to varying degrees. As for the Spaniards, the spectrum embraces various manifestations: lust, for example (for gold or sex), or on a more elevated plane the chivalry of a Christian knight. The hierarchy includes the required audience expectation of the perpetrator: a common soldier may react to the women in one way, but for the nobleman it is a different matter (or at least it ought to be).

This also applies perfectly to the familiar trope of female incitement to war. The instigation to violence by womenfolk is neither unusual in the corpus nor in the *comedia* as a whole. Lope's *El bastardo Mudarra*, set in pre-Reconquest Spain, is heavily dependent upon this trope as a driving force for vengeance in the action of

the play, while in *Fuenteovejuna* Laurencia questions the masculinity of the villagers in calling for vengeance for her rape. In the New World setting the same predilection is apparent among the playwrights, but they are allowed much greater latitude (for reasons of idolatry/paganism already expressed) to embellish this commonplace device with the enticement of sensual reward. There is a similar relentless drive in the corpus to link romantic or sensual interludes with violence or destruction; the ascetic Rosa fends off her demon-lover by self-torture in *Santa Rosa del Perú* (Moreto 1671: 16-18); Pizarro seduces Tucapela and wakes to find himself threatened with an arrow in *Las palabras a los reyes*; doña Juana becomes the concubine of a native chief and is almost run through on the spot by Ordoñez in part I of *El español entre todas las naciones* (Remón 1629: fol.23V). Act I of *El gobernador prudente* has Fresa promise Caupolicán sex in exchange for bravery in battle:

> Mata, animoso guerrero,
> que tierna y amante espero
> tus ensangrentadas manos,
> que en tal altivas empresas
> hallarás en mí después,
> por cada herida que des
> mil ternísimas finezas.
> Y en valentía y amor
> nos iremos compitiendo,
> tú matando, y yo queriendo
> con terneza y con valor.
>
> (Ávila 1917: 35).

Sexual and violent arousal are thus two sides of the same coin. The arousal implied in promised eroticism is matched by the frisson of threatened violence and the shedding of blood. This metaphor acts as a paradigm for the inevitability of Spanish thrust, possession, and hegemony, within the context of pagan carnality. One appears to the natural counterpart of the other. In act II of Ávila's play, Fresa joins forces with Guacolda to urge on Caupolicán and Lautaro. (As previously mentioned, it is Lautaro who has extravagantly promised to deliver to Guacolda the head of the Spanish

commander). In fact all the love scenes in this play are couched in terms of bloodshed, either of the above type or in visions of impending doom (the Cassandra-like qualities of the native women being an additional feature of their stage-existence).[79]

In this respect the function of the female natives in the corpus is a key to the achievement of closure. The political dimension of this is hard to overstate. In tracing the gendering of the Conquest up to this point we have been discussing how female native characters inscribe the hegemony of empire via their relationship with Spanish men. The women's value lies in their acquiescence - sexually and spiritually. Having alternated between the variety of conflicting postures just described, it is necessary that the native women fulfill their most crucial function, which is to confirm spiritual and imperial closure. This is always conceived in the corpus as a variant on the ritual round of marriages which characterise the *comedia* as a whole. This conventional ritual has been analysed by McKendrick in an examination of the relationship

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[79] In act III Ávila recasts his source material (*canto* XIII of Ercilla's *La araucana*) in order to enhance this attribute (1917: 81). Ercilla's original has Lautaro tell Guacolda that he has dreamt he was almost wrestled into submission by 'un soberbio español':

con violenta mano me oprimía
la fuerza y corazón, sin ser bastante
de poderme valer; y en aquel punto
me despertó la rabia y pena juntos

She replies in kind:

¡Ay, que he soñado también cuanto
de mi dicha temí, y es ya llegada
la fin tuya y principio de mi llanto!
(Ercilla 1993: 406)

Ercilla's ominous but inconclusive and unspecific auguries are reinforced to a considerable degree in the play, which has Guacolda alone experience the premonitory dream, but with a much more robust outcome:

¡Triste de mi! que he soñado
que en estrecha sujeción
he visto a Arauco domado
y tu altiva corazón
de una flecha atravesado
(Ávila 1917: 81)

(As with their allegorical counterparts, figurative Indian characters are portrayed as the repositories of latent intuition, and these clairvoyant qualities are exploited by authors to underline the inevitability of the Spanish Conquest and the folly of resistance).
On the dubious nature of Aztec "auguries" see also Fernández-Armesto (1992).

between the portrayal of women and the role of love in the *comedia*. The overlap between the two is considerable, such is the slavish adherence to their emotions ascribed to women, where the metaphor that harmony in love equates to the harmony of the state is a *sine qua non*. She places the theme of love (and its natural vessel - womankind) within the following context:

> The continual insistence that love is part of the natural order of the universe is, in part, an aspect of the seventeenth century's neo-Platonic inheritance [...] The Golden Age theater shows Platonic theory at work within a Christian social context. It is in the seventeenth century that the hierarchal order of society with its delegation of authority from God through the king down to the head of each family, receives particular emphasis, and it is in seventeenth-century drama that marriage is used at the end of a play as a symbol of the restoration of the good order of society. The seemingly haphazard batch of marriages with which nearly every plot is brought to an end is not merely an empty convention employed as an easy solution to the action; it reflects a philosophy of life, the belief that continuing security depends on order. Woman has her place in this order as wife and mother. A refusal to accept this place is a threat to the whole pattern of life. In all fairness, however, it must not be forgotten that for the seventeenth century playwrights, man was as subject to love and marriage as was woman. None of the few *hombres esquivos* escapes them. The greater incidence of *esquivez* among heroines is largely due to their greater entertainment value; in reality, of course, seventeenth-century women had a great deal more to gain from marriage than they had to lose.
>
> (McKendrick 1983: 144-5)

McKendrick is making a general point from the particularity of *esquivez*. These women - the *bandolera*, the *mujer esquiva*, the Amazon, the leader, the warrior, the scholar, the career woman, the *bella cazadora*, and the avenger (1974: vii) - by virtue of their assertiveness, their "masculinity", their lack of acceptance of convention, pose a momentary threat to the social order by their very wayward nature, but this is necessarily contained by the *desenlace*. An important difference is immediately apparent, however, within the context of the New World plays. The Christian social context, the good order of society, and the universal harmony mentioned by McKendrick are totally absent. They are not in need of restoration, but something altogether more urgent; they require imposition. The women presented as inhabiting

these territories are by their very nature children of the wilderness; heathens, Amazons, cannibals even. The dominion of the Devil in the New World and the adherence of its inhabitants thus alter the premise upon which these dramas are based. A temporary moral vacuum is allowed to hold sway in the plays. The 'haphazard batch of marriages' cannot be taken as a given in this new context. The natives are neither heretics nor infidels, but heathens, and the transfer of location from the certainties of the Old World provides for a crucially different scenario.

As we have seen, the very location of their subject matter ties the plays into ethical, inspirational, providential and evangelical issues. There exists an overriding moral imperative in the corpus, which precedes all other conventions, that the pagan natives save their souls through baptism. The respectable distance of pagan Antiquity, however, with its classical pre-Christian gods does not apply here. For example, in Lope's *Las mujeres sin hombres*, Hércules is not required to ensure that each of the couples he marries off submit to Christian baptism and Spanish hegemony. This is just what *is* required, and spelt out in no uncertain terms in the corpus. In the New World context such acquiescence is fundamental to the *desenlace*. Order and harmony are introduced - rather than salvaged - and must be confirmed as closure. Baptism, marriage and Spanish hegemony are, therefore, the ineluctable destiny of the stage-Indian female.

As part of the affirmation of this process, and as native women accede to baptism and/or marriage in the closing stages of the dramas, they are assigned correspondingly new and superior status, signified by a change of costume and nomenclature (McClintock's 'male prerogative'). This may involve taking the Virgin's name, as occurs with Carabina in part IV of *El español entre todas las naciones*, where the protagonist Ordóñez de Ceballos offers her hand to a suitor with

words 'si te quieres casar / ya es María Carabina / que Dios la quiso alumbrar' (Anon. 1634: fol.34R). Similarly, in *La sentencia sin firma*, Aytí emerges as María for a baptismal ceremony in Spain '*de Christiana*' (Ávila 1652: fol.135R), and Guacolda goes through the whole of act III of *La aurora en Copacabana* '*vestida a la española*' and answers to the name of María (Calderón 1994: 203ff.). (The special affiliation of Our Lady with the New World in fact manifests itself at regular intervals throughout the corpus, especially in Calderón's play, and no other female Christian names are used for baptised Indian women). Here, as in the case of the personification from the *loa* by Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, where Religion Cristiana appears '*de dama española*', costume has an iconic significance which transcends the figurative character. Clearly, this posture is intended to be seen as an ascent to civilisation as well as an emblem of acquiescence in the Faith. Thus, when in *Los españoles en Chile* the Spanish lady, doña Juana, reverses the process, and (for reasons of the intrigue) takes the stage '*vestida de India, lo más difrazada* (sic) *que pueda*', this is described as 'vn trage tan indigno / de su obligacion' (González de Bustos 1665: fol.20R).

That change of garb is conceived as an emblematic posture is strikingly demonstrated in an incident involving Guacolda/María in *El gobernador prudente.* [80] Her baptismal entry is staged as nothing less than the assimilation of civil and religious subjugation. It is presented as a major set-piece in the drama, according to the stage-direction which calls for:

> *Chirimías y luego cajas; el paje delante con rodela acerada, arcabuceros en orden, don Felipe y don Luis con arcabuces, tohallas y fuentes. Don García con peto y bastón, y Guacolda vestida a lo español lo más bizarro que se pueda. Esta salida ha de ser por un palenque.*
>
> (Ávila 1917: 107)

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[80] On the topic of costume as a signifier see Clunes (1992).

Although cast in completely stylised iconic mode at this point, the moment is also critical in terms of the plotline: Guacolda is being watched aghast by still-insurrectionist Indians, who now launch an attack on the Spaniards. This is a reminder to the audience that Guacolda is the very character who in exchange for her favours earlier in the play has fomented male violence against the Spaniards. She has been depicted as musing – in the manner of a native Salomé - on the promise of receiving 'cárdena y fría a tus pies / la boca de don García' (Ávila 1917: 65). Despite this, and in keeping with her total *volte-face*, the Christian Guacolda/Maria subsequently asks don García's permission to reject an offer of marriage and to become a nun (1917: 112) - as complete a reconciliation with the Faith and Spanish hegemony as it is possible to achieve.

The inevitability of reconciliation is demonstrably the given pattern for Indian women belligerents in the corpus. Below, I list the plays' principal female antagonists whose fate is traced through to any given *desenlace*. These Indian women oscillate between seduction, violence, treachery, collaboration and murder in their various attempts to *conquistar* the invader (to use an ambivalent Spanish term), but then eventually acknowledge the new order and convert to the Faith:

Teolinda in Aguilar's *Fray Luis Bertrán*
Carabina in the anonymous *El español* part IV
Guacolda in Aguilar's *El gobernador prudente*
Guacolda and Glauca in Calderón's *La aurora en Copacabana*
Tipolda in Claramonte's *El nuevo rey Gallinato*
Fresia and Gualeva in González de Bustos's *Los españoles en Chile*
Guacolda in Turia's *La bellígera española*
Polonia in Remón's *El español* part I
Tucapela in Vélez's *Las palabras a los reyes.*[81]

[81] Obviously, I do not count in the above list those who *immediately* side with the Spaniards, for example the heroine of Calderón's *La aurora en Copacabana*, Guacolda. On the other hand I do include the Guacolda character in Turia's *La belligera española*, who shows signs of rebellion even as she has to accept her arranged marriage.

* * *

One Indian woman, however, proves a notable exception to this rule: Lope's creation, Fresia. The wife of Caupolicán in *Arauco domado*, her dramatic trajectory is particularly intriguing. Ruiz Ramón has described her as 'una Laurencia araucana' or a Medea, as destroyer of her own children (1993: 6). The genesis of her character and Lope's manipulation of his sources provide for an unusually vibrant and indomitable figure, who encompasses many of the qualities attributed to Indian women outlined so far, but who also shows the most extended instance of a figurative character operating in what has been described as neo-allegorical mode, emerging as a personification of her territory and the ongoing rebellion. Her murderous violence and language constitute the most extreme example in the dramas, and her sensuality is among the most risqué. But before proceeding to an analysis of Fresia's singular nature, it is necessary to restate the political import of female leaders in the *comedia* as a whole.

To return to McKendrick's study of the *mujer esquiva*, she cites an anonymous play set in the Old World:

> The queen of Scotland in *De los contrarios de amor* is an arrogant woman who refuses to subject herself to any man. Her hatred of men is matched by that felt by the king of England for women, but whereas his feelings are the result of some personal incident in the past which has embittered him, the queen's are based on arrogance alone. They plunge their countries into war merely to defeat and humble the other, but since the queen's fault is greater, she is the one who must yield. Unconvincing as their ultimate change of heart is, the point is unmistakable. The subplot is, in fact, stating the case for marriage. Marriage, that is the fulfillment of the laws of nature, brings back harmony and prosperity to the two countries. In other words, it is restoring order on a national scale and healing the breach created by the queen's wrongful self-assertion
>
> (1983: 128)

In terms of the *comedia* the figure of this Old World monarch has everything in common with that of a stage-Indian queen in New World. Not only do both operate as

dramatic creations, but they also have meta-existence as emblematic figures in what is, in any case, a theatre of archetypes. That is to say, that what a queen says, does, wears, overhears, and so forth, is to be read on at least two levels - character and signifier. Similarly, the presence of the Indian women on stage is a synecdoche of the territory coveted by the Spaniards. As such the native females differ radically from the norm in their *varonilidad.* Like the Queen of Scotland their actions and reactions are emblematic of the fate of their people, as well as instrumental in determining that fate.

The case of Fresia in *Arauco domado* runs directly contrary to the pattern of female reconciliation posited above: it concludes with no healing of the breach, but rather the opening of a wound. The beginning of her dramatic trajectory, though, is stylised within the confines we have been discussing. She emerges in act I of the play in a scene which combines lyricism, sensuality and overweening vanity. Drawing, according to Ruiz Ramón, on the 'modelo femenino' of Fresia in Oña's poem of the same name (Vega 1993: 82 note 10) rather than on the Ercilla epic, Lope presents the spectator with a pastoral idyll adorned by a totally European stereotype. The invitation to dalliance in 'tejidas hamacas' (1993: 83) and Caupolicán's instruction that they not be disturbed adds the required frisson to audience expectation. But underneath these exchanges there runs an undercurrent of arrogance which goes beyond mere sun-worship and indicates rebellion: 'De todo lo que miras / eres, Fresia, señora; / ya no es de Carlos ni Felipe Chile' (1993: 84). Having undressed, they bathe while the shamans Orompello and Pillalongo conjure the demon Pillán, who predicts the complete defeat of the Araucanians. Caupolicán, followed by Fresia, rushes from the waters screaming that he is ablaze, having witnessed the same prophecy while the waters around him turn to flames. Despite this, she urges him into

battle, promising her favours in return. But as the war rages in act II her behaviour becomes wholly reminiscent of the most extreme outbursts of the allegorical personifications just discussed or the neo-allegory of Tirso's Piurisa (in *La lealtad contra la envidia*) - a posture which she completely subsumes for the remainder of the drama. Fresia now takes on clairvoyant powers, and confides to a companion her fears for the fate of her husband Caupolicán in the pitched battle just seen on stage and whose carnage she surveys:

> Sólo escuchan los oídos
> tristes aves agoreras,
> con cantos aborrecidos;
> y tal vez oigo las fieras
> dar por este monte aullidos.
> Si algo toco, me parece
> que luego se desvanece;
> si lo gusto, que es veneno;
> todo está de sombras lleno;
> sangriento el sol me parece;
> perlas, Millaura, he soñado;
> lágrimas tendremos hoy.
> (1993: 116-7)

(The inclusion of this motif as a consciously stylised attribute is actually confirmed in the text which immediately follows. When Millaura comments that Christians do not appear to be affected by 'estos agüeros vanos', Fresia merely replies 'Tenemoslos recibidos / como por ley los indianos' [1993: 117]).

When Fresia's young son Engol now reports to the women that his father has indeed been routed by the Spaniards, her outrage knows no bounds, and she scorns both conjugal and maternal affection in her rant:

> Cobarde, ¿tú me refieres
> que vuelve vivo y sin honra
> tu padre infame? ¿Tú eres
> mi hijo? ¿Y esa deshonra
> nos cuentas a dos mujeres?
> ¿Yo te engendré? ¿Tú eres hijo
> de Fresia?
> .....

Este deshonor me anima:
parte, villano, y si vive
dile por qué es infame,
y en su cara le apercibe
a que mujer no me llame
quien tal afrenta recibe.
Y si es muerto, que es más cierto,
que entres a morir te advierto;
muere, y y no quedes cautivo,
porque no te quiero vivo
si Caupolicán es muerto
(1993: 118)

She even threatens to accompany her son into battle: 'Aguarda, que en esta guerra / me has de llevar a tu lado', and brushes aside protests by her companion Millaura that Engol is too young to bear this burden. 'Mira que es muy niño Engol. / ¿Estás loca?' (1993: 118), she asks - a question which is shortly to be answered in horrific terms in the scene of infanticide which precedes the execution of Caupolicán. As Fresia makes her entrance on the balcony her iconic significance is both visual and verbal. She introduces herself in the third person, using the indefinite article - that is, she inscribes herself as the representative of all the women of her people, before she delivers physical proof of her rejection of her husband:

Sale Fresia, con niño en los brazos, en alto

En una peña
con un muchacho en los brazos,
una india hablarte intenta.
.....
¡Cobarde marido mío,
que el valor de Chile afrentas!
Tú, que prenderte dejaste,
pudiendo morir sin ella
¿cómo perdiste el sentido
al salir de aquella puerta?
¿Que te han atado las manos
esos que temblaron dellas?
¡Manos de Caupolicán
ató la española fuerza!
Mirando estoy si son tuyas;
no es posible que lo sean.
Yo pienso que Engol, tu hijo,

muerto en la campaña queda
entre los demás caciques;
pues ¿hay infamia como ésta?
¡Que un niño tenga valor
para morir sin afrenta
y que a un gigante le falte!
[¡] ... tan afrentada estoy
de que mi marido seas,
que este hijo que de ti
entre los brazos me queda,
por no tener de un cobarde
a mis ojos tan vil prenda,
le estrello en estos peñascos!
(1993: 135-6)

With those on stage contemplating her actions in horror, she carries out the terrible act. Into the mouths of the actor-spectators are placed the gasps of horror which are due from the audience: '¡Matóle!', '¿Qué fiera / hiciera aquella crueldad?' and '¡Terrible mujer! / ¡Soberbia!' (1993: 136). It is to these Spaniards whom she now directs her words:

¡Españoles, si no hubiere
alguno allá que se atreva
a ser de Caupolicán
verdugo, llamad a Fresia;
que yo misma iré a quitarle
la vida, porque con ella
vengue Chile sus agravios,
pues él su patria no venga!
(1993: 136)

Engol, it emerges, is still very much alive, however, and with his mother witnesses the repentance and execution of his father impaled in the shocking *tableau*, at which the boy swears revenge, abjures sex (the codified declaration of total war), and raises the spectre of the Indians wreaking upon Spain the havoc that Spain has brought to them:

Padre, yo te vengaré
si cubre el bozo mis labios;
yo te juro por el cielo
y el sol que me está mirando,
de no me llamar tu hijo,
de no dormir en tu tambo,
de no vestirme las armas

que a españoles has quitado,
de no mirar a mujer
y de no salir del campo
hasta que vengue tu muerte.
Pasando este mar a nado,
(que de matar a García,
pequeña venganza aguardo)
a España tengo de ir,
donde están Felipe y Carlos;
allí verás que en su trono
pongo mis dorados rayos;
que si soy el Sol, bien puedo
llegar al polo contrario.
(1993: 139)

Fresia has the last word '¡Qué bien pareces mi hijo!(139) and to Millaura's lament

'Hoy quedamos esclavas del español' she replies:

Si crece Engol, dél aguardo
la venganza de mi esposo,
muerto en la flor de sus años.
(1993: 140)

That is to say, she commends the future of the resistance to her son, in the name of her husband – a conventional but rather different stance to the one adopted in the baby-killing scene.[82]

As in his exploitation of the death of Caupolicán, Lope exploits to an extreme all the instances of horror which his sources suggest. The scene with Fresia and the child shows him ignoring Ercilla (who has her throw it before Caupolicán) in favour of the more lurid rendition by Escobar (Dixon 1992: 263 note 37). Neither Ávila, González de Bustos, nor Turia avail themselves of this *coup de théâtre.* Only one of the other Chilean dramas uses it: in *Algunas hazañas*, Caupolicán's wife (under the name of Gualeva) harangues her captive husband, and '*arroja el niño dentro*' (Ruiz de Alarcón 1946: 505). And although she goes on to threaten to kill Caupolicán at his baptism, the required change of posture is imposed at the very last moment. She is

[82] Contemporary protocols ruled that vengeance was the prerogative of the male next of kin: see McKendrick (1983: 127).

overcome with compassion at Caupolicán's cruel death, and when don García's brother then appeals to the Indian women: 'Gualeva, Guacolda, haced / Menor la pena', she reverts to the emotional, confused female stereotype, replying 'No asisto / En mi, son mis confusiones / Piedades y desvaríos.' (1946: 508) She takes Guacolda's hand and then does in fact attend the final surrender to the Spanish empire with all the remaining Indians. In what is a clear act of conversion to the Faith, she witnesses Guacolda accept marriage to Rengo with don García as sponsor (*padrino*). Thus we see the import of the depiction of Caupolicán's wife in *Algunas hazañas* reversed by comparison to *Arauco domado*. It is a standard reconciliation along political lines analogous with those suggested by McKendrick for *De los contrarios de amor*: that is, Gualeva's dramatic posture equates to that of Chile in acquiescence to Spanish hegemony – the exhaustion of her former extremism now becomes a token of the absolute nature of the Spanish victory.

Not so with Fresia in *Arauco domado*: the author places her and don García on an ironically comparable and bloody level, and her final words prior to the ritual of closure in the last scene are: 'Si crece Engol, dél aguardo / la venganza de mi esposo, / muerto en la flor de sus años (Vega 1993: 140). The royal celebrations for don García's nine victories and the pacification of Chile now commence. The final *acotación* has '*salga toda la compañía, muy galana, de soldados [...] y detrás D.García*' accompanied by the boy King Philip II (1993: 140). Fresia's vow is Lope's mode of interrogation of this final act of closure. He sets out deliberately to complement the sense of self-congratulatory reassurance which permeates the theatre with a parallel, extra–textual scenario. *Arauco domado* is indicative of Lope at his best - he leaves the spectator ruminating on the aftermath of the action, which practice lends an ironic resonance to the title of the play. (This is very much in the manner

achieved, for example, in *El castigo sin venganza*, with the bleak prospect facing the Duke of Ferrara without wife and without issue).

Perhaps Lope was conscious of the war of attrition still continuing in Chile in leaving open the threat of continued rebellion. By the seventeenth century, *Arauco* was anything but tamed. The Araucanian Indians fought the Spaniards with unique determination and playwrights were at pains to single them out in this regard.

This dramatic exaltation of 'el indómito Arauco' perhaps requires that the play enshrine its resistance in archetypal terms - the everlasting vow of vengeance issued by Engol. It is a rather striking moment in the corpus, which has no counterpart. But it is Fresia who inscribes Engol. Like the personifications of Idolatry which stalk the stage, Lope's Fresia cannot acquiesce, and thus has a presence in her offspring which lingers beyond the the *desenlace.* She never surrenders, either in military or religious terms. She does not seek to escape the confines of her emblematic status. It is Lope's achievement to have her revel in her role as a symbol of malign patriotic integrity. In this respect she is alone among the Indian women in the corpus.

* * *

In this chapter, my aim has been to show that the characterisation of female Indians in the New World corpus is imbued with trace elements from allegorical representations known to spectators from iconography, pageants and the *auto*

sacramental. At certain points in the plays, their actions or postures can be shown to mimic their precursors in those media, either as emblematic of conquered territory or as conduits for the interpretation of events on stage. These neo-allegorical interludes are mingled freely with figurative interventions which themselves are constrained by stereotypical attributes attaching to them as sexually provocative and violent. These perceptions are complemented by a universal susceptibility to love in general and Spanish men in particular. The standard resolution of the triangle of love, sex and violence in the plays, is the incorporation of the Indian women into Spanish hegemony via baptism and/or marriage. In this respect, their function within the terms of colonial discourse is to inscribe an imperial and religious agenda which is Spanish and male. Within the structure of a given play, their function is vital to the achievement of closure, in which baptism; the ascent to Spanish costume; the adoption of the name "María"; and/or the assignment of a husband are an integral feature of the hegemonic affirmation proper to the *desenlace.* In *Arauco domado*, Lope's singular *coup*, is to achieve this affirmation, while creating a figure in Fresia whose monumental stature is such, that she can elude reconciliation. Her defiance and refusal to submit are thus an ominous counterpoint to the triumphalism of the play's final *tableau.*

Chapter Three: The Devil, Orality and Writing

In Part One of this chapter ('The Devil'), I examine Satan's role in the corpus, and define the function of satanic deceit as an omnipresence. I analyse the development of the Devil from mere actor dressed up in sinister garb, to a multifarious force for subversion, heresy and inversion of God's design for mankind via personified stage-concepts such as *Idolatría.* I discuss the geographical component which identifies the Devil's domain as the New World. In doing this I lay particular emphasis on the verbal power of evil, its capacity for arch-deceit and the perversion of Christian ritual and how this is countered not just by force, but by reasoned argument in certain plays.

The omnipresence of idolatry will emerge as fundamental to the interpretation of the discourse established between conquerors and conquered (Jean-Paul Duviols 1996, Pierre Duviols 1996, Baudot 1996). This will involve a close analysis of the role played by linguistic representations of Otherness, and how its manipulation by playwrights serves to reinforce the pervasiveness of idolatry and the legality of the Spanish conquest of souls for the Faith. In Part Two of the chapter ('Orality and Writing'), I examine the manipulation of these concepts by the Christian heroes in their evangelical struggle with the pagan Indians, the depiction of whose transition from incomprehensible babble to fluent Spanish is a key component in their liberation from satanic duplicity. Subsequently, I show how the power of God's Word and Spanish orality is decisively underpinned by writing as an instrument of imperial power. The illiteracy of the Indians and the suppression (on the part of the metropolitan power) of any acknowledgement of their non-verbal traditions plays a

crucial role in the dramatic portrayal of the triumph of the religion of the Book. The legitimisation of the Conquest is thus shown to be as much an evangelical as a written legal imperative. The representation in the plays of the reading of the *Requerimiento*, the written proclamation of forcible subjection and conversion from paganism, is the culmination of this process, drawing together the secular and religious strands of the imperial grand design in a legal document. The chapter explores how the struggle against Satan is conducted orally but with the crucial sanction of writing. Writing is considered to be an indicator of civilisation which, in the minds of the Spanish, the Indians had yet to develop, the non-literate status of their societies being yet another facet of the Devil's dominion.

* * *

Part One: The Devil

The presence of the Devil in Golden Age drama has always been considered by commentators to be quite prolific. But the frequency of this intervention has almost always been analysed by commentators in terms of the Old World; that is in works set in the Peninsula, or other European countries or Asia. Crawford mentions twenty-seven such pre-Lopeian examples (1910). Garasa concludes that, in hagiographical works, the absence of the Devil is exceptional (1960), and Flecniakoska has cited fifteen examples of his presence in Lope's plays (1964). Parker has also found forty-seven interventions in the *autos* of Calderón (1965).

Many studies have also concentrated on the significance of this presence. Parker was among the first to point up his polyfacetic personality, or rather his multi-

diabolic presence. Flecniakoska has closely analysed his intervention in Lope and Mira de Asmescua's plays (1964, 1976). Thanks to these studies, and their development by Case (1987), there now exists a series of known characteristics that can serve as a template in the quest to achieve a typology of the Devil and the diabolic. In the first part of this chapter I expand on the precepts established by Parker and Flecniakoska and then go on to locate this typology within the corpus of plays set in the New World.

In order to do so, I first relate the Devil's Old World presence to his potential for characterisation in the New. I intend to show a progressive development of his role as various plays' dramatic location strays ever further from the Peninsula and link this to his even more prolific frequency of appearance in the New World corpus. The significance of his tricks and deceit when employed in pagan lands can be shown to transcend the physical action on stage in order to sustain an ideological and spiritual posture on the part of the dominant power, of which the *comedia* is implicated as an agent of justification. In doing this I approach the question in terms of the Devil and "all his works". I include also those who comply with him via the mechanism of idolatry; the principal deceit wrought by him and, as we shall see, the source of all evil (at least as far as the New World is concerned).

What then are characteristics set out by Flecniakoska for the Devil in *comedias* set in the Old World? First there is the muliplicity of names (such Luzbel or Satán); titles (Príncipe or Rey de las Tinieblas); the crucial device of conceptual identities (Noche, Soberbia, Dudoso); and his disguises (sailor, shepherd, lion, and so forth). And unlike the grimacing monster of medieval iconography (perpetuated in the iconography of the Indies), the Devil is a psychologically perceptive figure, a disruptive, seductive force; the arch-deceiver, the accuser, the defamer of Mankind.

In this he does not act alone. Parker (1965) has linked his development in Calderonian *autos* to Thomist precepts of theology. Satan cannot be permitted to represent a single force for evil in opposition to God, in Manichæan terms, for such terms would be heretical. Parker charts the evolution of Satan's characterisation towards that of a team-leader, accompanied by figures such as *La Culpa* or *La Sombra* or other personified conceptualisations of aspects of the spirit of evil as a whole. Such personifications of abstract concepts are particularly important in the New World plays.

Flecniakoska's study of this kind of character in the Old World, 'Las figuras de Herejía y Demonio al servicio de la propaganda política en los autos de Mira de Amescua' (1976), illustrates the level of sophistication of the depiction of such disparate forces of evil. He cites examples of the personification of Idolatría, and goes on to mention a selection of alternative manifestations of Satan's will:

> Herejía sale como compañera de Gentilidad, Hebraísmo, y Seta de Mahoma. Es de notar que en ciertos autos Herejía está considerada ya como contrario de Fe o de Iglesia y es así como, en *El castillo de la Fe*, sale a escena bajo el nombre de Soldado herético (1976: 204)

In discussing another *auto*, *La Inquisición*, Flecniakoska comments, 'Herejía no es más que el criado de León, que es Satanás: es un Demonio al servicio del Principe de las Tinieblas' (1976: 205). If we follow Flecniakoska's prescription, then, we are engaging the Devil as a multitude of disparate forces. When discussing the "Devil" in this chapter, therefore, I am not just concerned with his individual appearance under the name of el Diablo, Satanás, or Luzbel. He acts either for himself (often disguised) or through the agency of a personified concept, or through a demon, or even through an archetypal human character (of whom the *soldado herético* just mentioned is an example).

This multi-faceted Devil has at least one clearly defined theological mission in the Old World; the fomentation of apostasy. Flecniakoska reports a further example from *La Inquisición*:

> Satanás, con el nombre de León infernal, no nos aparece sino como quien siembra las herejías ya que en su sentencia, el fiscal San Pedro, exclama:
>
> Ya apostata, eres preso de mis manos
> en ti me entregan setas infinitas,
> protestantes, servianos, arianos,
> nestorios, florianos, ateistas,
> milenarios, arabicos, usitas,
> nabatistas, meandricos, timeos,
> colucianos, vigandos, manicheos

León infernal's objective is overtly expressed as embracing a political dimension

> cubrire de error y sombras
> .....
> yo el gran teatro de Espana
> reino de quatro Filipos

And this is reinforced by Noche on a continental scale

> turbare la fe de Europa
> dare guerra al albedrio
> obstinare la herejia
> inventare nuevos ritos
> miembros cortare a la Iglesia
>
> (1976: 207)

So, heresy is more than just a theological antagonist, it represents a specific material and political threat, as we see in *La jura del Príncipe*. Here Herejía clearly indicates that it represents Protestants in revolt against the Papal States :

> En las islas del Norte
> mi palacio funde
> .....
> A Germania he llegado
> inundada del Rin y del Danubio
> .....
> Por las dos Germanias entro
> con tal poder y tal dicha
> que he ganado muchas plazas
> sin que el gran Cesar me resista.
>
> (1976: 209-210)

What we gather from these extracts is the affirmation of the role of disrupters and deceivers by the various forces of darkness. The attack on the one true Catholic faith is an attack on Spain itself. The revolt in Europe is to be viewed in religious terms also; it is a revolt of heretics. As Flecniakoska puts it, the intention of the *auto* is to 'confundir las obras de Satanás con las de los 'herejes' que así aparecen como despiadados y ponzoñosos enemigos a quienes hay que exterminar para salvaguardar la hegemonía de la Casa de Austria' (1976: 213).

In Counter-Reformation terms, then, the absolute identification of Empire with the consolidation of the one true Faith is ever-present. The defeat of the heretic is *per se* the defeat of heresy, and in the conquest of the pagan is implicit his evangelisation and conversion to the Faith.

The threat is not merely confined to Europe, however. Nor is it merely heresy that Catholic Spain has to contend with. Paganism and Islam lurk at the edges of the Christian World. In *El erario y el monte de piedad*, Mira de Amescua 'presenta a Herejía con dos compañeros, Gentilidad and Seta de Mahoma 'que es África' formando asi un verdadero trío de Demonios puesto que [...] *Herejía* se asimila a Satanás'(Flecniakoska, 1976: 214). (Here it is of interest to note the progressive assimilation: paganism is hand in glove with Islam, heresy is their companion, and Satan is literally Africa. This geographical personification of a theological concept is very apposite to the present discussion).

In the play Gentilidad opposes Spain in America, having been ejected from Europe :

> ... y a mi
> en las carceles me encierra
> de los montes y de los mares
> que aun los mapas ignoraron
> al Poniente se pasaron

mis oraculos y altares
(1976: 215)

To complete this circle of menace, there is the prospect that the New World will be evangelised, not by Catholicism, but by Protestantism. Herejía vows 'las Indias haré temblar' and Gentilidad promises that paganism will pave the way for heresy:

en los mares del Oceano
abriran los golfos paso
a tus naves para verte
en mis regiones y climas
dilatando tu poder
(1976: 215)

Flecniakoska's analysis sits perfectly with this recent short summary of notions of mediation in art:

> First, works of art come into being not solely through the agency of individual authors, they are also created by the social conditions in which they are produced. Second, it follows that works of art are deeply implicated in the power structures of their time. Third, one of the ways in which power functions is by creating *and then demonising* aliens, 'Others', outsiders, inferiors.
>
> (Bate 1997: 13)

Bate's italics draw attention to the focal point of the present chapter. In the instance of Old World plays under examination, even though the personalities on stage are of a conceptual nature, the normally figurative idea of demonising the Other can be superseded by its literal sense, for example in the personification of *Seta de Mahoma*. The New World plays actually extend this trope to all the inhabitants of the Indies, although their alien presence is substantially different from the menace posed by African, Turk and Protestant entities. A reference to this distinction is essential if the Devil's role in the New World is to be defined.

The New World, its inhabitants, and their beliefs were considered to occupy an entirely different set of geographical, anthropological, and theological categories to

those of the Old World. The eventual realisation that the New World was in fact a new continent, cut off geographically from Europe, Africa and Asia, posed certain problems for theologians in the sixteenth-century. Attempts were made to determine the status of the Indians from the point of view of evangelisation and their rights under Natural Law. It was considered that the New World was thought either not to have been visited by the Apostles or that the Word had reached the inhabitants at an early stage and that they had forgotten it or corrupted it. One commentator summarises thus:

> The practical solution was to declare that the existence of the New World was a mystery and that the Indians were 'gentiles' (that is, without ever having received Christian doctrine), and to set about evangelizing them. The Church was able to do this because they deemed the Indians 'idolaters', among other negative things.
>
> [...] In spite of some heroic attempts to slacken the zeal, Spain proceeded with the conversion of the New World Indians. The process turned out to be more difficult than had been anticipated. The main problem is that, in spite of the friars' investigations which are our principal sources, the Indians had their own religions and were unfamiliar with Christianity, unlike the Moors and the Jews, who had centuries of contact with Christians. The two religious mentalities confronted each other without mutual understanding: one exclusive, that of the Christians, and one inclusive, that of the indigenous peoples.
>
> [...] The fact is that the Christian church expanded its battlefronts. It did not simply have to contend with heretical deviations or the apostasies with which it was familiar in the Old World, but saw itself forced to employ its imagination regarding the novelties that the Evil Spirit manifested in America.
>
> The Church held that the Devil was the guilty party [...] He was the one responsible for the veil that hid these lands and peoples from European eyes. He had fooled the Indians into worshipping him with *excrements* in place of *sacraments* of the Church of God and as a mockery of divinity. He was responsible for the fact that the Indians committed crimes against the faith after having been baptized. All of this resulted in the primary necessity of exorcising land, animals, plants, and people.
>
> (Moreno 1991: 28-9)

The most simplistic tenet - that the Devil was to blame for everything - is the premise upon which the New World plays are predicated. A crude example from the corpus confirms this message. Spanish soldiers, beseiged and starving in Vélez de Guevara's *Las palabras a los reyes y gloria de los Pizarros*, bemoan their fate and

the false lure of Peru. They observe 'que es solamente esta tierra / buena para Belcebu / porque en ella es adorado' (n.d.: fol.9R). And there are other (more thoughtful) examples: Lope's *El Nuevo Mundo* spells it out in a scene in which Imaginación has Columbus witness a debate between Idolatría and Religión:

> Tras años innumerables
> que en las Indias de Occidente
> vivo engañando la gente
> con mis errores notables,
> tú, cristiana Religión,
> por medio de un hombre pobre,
> ¿quieres que tu fe la cobre
> estando en la posesión?
> El demonio en ellas vive;
> la posesesion le entregué?
> .....
> Yo la pienso defender
> con armas, industria y gente.
> Unos indios ignorantes
> que adoran sólo la luz,
> ¿adorarán vuestra cruz?
> (Vega 1980: 10)

This notion of a separate geographical entity, an unevangelized land, subject to the whim of the Devil, is even expressed from the purported viewpoint of the natives. In Lope's *Arauco domado*, the Indian chieftain Tucapel asks:

> Si el soberano Apó juntar quisiera
> chilenos y cristianos españoles,
> no con tan largo mar nos dividiera
> un sol nos diera luz y no dos soles
> acá y allá de un alba amaneciera;
> mas cuando aquí se ven sus arreboles,
> allá es de noche; luego quiere el cielo
> que se sustenten en distinto suelo.
> (Vega 1993: 107)

Reasoned but erroneous: we note in passing the not-very-subtle error of premise which underpins Tucapel's complaint, a 'category mistake' (which is analysed below). Similarly, Moreto's *Santa Rosa del Perú*, a play which is otherwise straight hagiography of the type which could easily have been located in the Old World, has

the Devil explain the exact nature of the geographical division between good and evil. As he summons his demons from Hell, he complains that he is no longer given a 'free hand' in the Indies and that he faces a second exile:

> venid al Nueuo Mundo,
> .....
> pues esta tierra, que era siempre mia,
> donde siempre reynò mi idolatria,
> no solo se la quita mi desvelo
> sino que quiere Dios hazerla cielo:
> y es mi rencor, que quando me destierra,
> sea una vil muger quien me haze guerra,
> de Dios tan asistida.
>
> (Moreto 1671: 5-6)

And the Devil's appearance in Gaspar de Aguilar's *Fray Luis Bertrán* makes clear that the arrival of the missionaries brings to a close the dominance of the Evil One. It is worth quoting because it acts as a confirmation of many of the aspects of Satan's role suggested above, and goes on to raise the issue of how the Devil traditionally communicates with his devotees:

Sale el demonio en figura de hombre, con un palo en la mano para fingirse ciego.

> Nadie sabe a lo que vengo:
> pues sepan que del abismo
> vengo, formando yo mismo
> el cuerpo humano que tengo.
> Luzbel soy, de las tinieblas
> el principe sublimado
> que tengo mi sol dorado
> cubierto de espessas nieblas,
> Tomar quise cuerpo de hombre
> siendo el principe Luzbel,
> para vengarme de aquel,
> que Bertran tiene por nombre.
> Que alla en el mundo remoto
> hizo tan grandes insultos,
> que rompio los sacros bultos
> de mi oraculo deuoto.
>
> (Aguilar 1914: 134-5)

The Devil here appears in traditional fashion, wearing a disguise, bent on deceit, identifying himself as 'Luzbel'. His former favour with God is the sun obscured,

(worship of the sun being the consistently unifying feature in the depiction of paganism on the Golden Age stage). The *mundo remoto*, the New World, where he once went unchallenged has suffered the "insult" (note the inverted language) of having its idols and oracles destroyed; that is, the conduits which served in the Indians' deception.

All the errors of the natives were theologically ascribed to the arch-deception of the Devil, which is is the inspiration to idolatry. The plethora of speculation on this issue by the principal Spanish commentators of the time (Vitoria, Las Casas, and Acosta) has been examined in a brilliant study of the origins of comparative ethnology by Pagden, *La caída del hombre natural* (1988). I draw heavily on his analysis of the implications, according to sixteenth-century thought, of the theory of satanic error, the practice of idolatry and its attendant paraphernalia. I establish a point of reference for the plays in order to discuss how far they adhere to mainstream theological debate. Pagden observes that:

> Satán, el Señor del Desorden, actuaba en el nuevo mundo como había actuado en el antiguo, pero más libremente. Invertía o corrompía el orden natural de las cosas, tomando la razón natural sin guía del hombre y desviándola por canales pestilentes donde creaba el mal del bien potencial.
>
> (1988: 234)

Social inversion, the perversion of religious ritual, filth and self-defilement were perceived by Spaniards as the norm in Amerindian societies, the most developed of which (the Aztecs, the Incas) were seen to be the most steeped in Satanic deception. Their rituals and priests were seen to be the most perverted but, crucially, the most susceptible to evangelisation and redemption from their sin because of the sophistication of the deception worked upon them. The source of this deception was mental error. As Pagden puts it, the Devil 'engañaba a la mente indiana para que cometiera la serie de errores de categoría cruciales que son el origen de todas las

formas de religión pagana desde la simple superstición a la auténtica idolatría' (1988: 235-6). The most shocking manifestations of these deceptions were the inversions or perversions constituted by cannibalism, as well as sodomy and other sexual deviance. The most shocking ritual was human sacrifice, administered by a filthy priesthood - agents of Satan and counterparts of the sorcerers and witches whose pursuit obsessed the European mind of the time. The onus was on Conquistadors and missionaries alike to eradicate the existence of graven images and replace them in their temples with Christian ones. Of such inversions and perversions, Acosta argued that

> su causa fundamental es la 'idolatría', porque la idolatría era el medio del que se servía Satanás para cegar a los hombres a fin de que no vieran la verdadera forma del plan de Dios par la naturaleza ... 'el principio de la fornicación fue invención de los ídolos y su hallazgo la corrupción de la vida'
>
> (Pagden 1988: 238)

The plays shows ample evidence of awareness of the stages in the process just outlined.

* * *

The identification of the Old World struggle against heresy and the New World struggle against idolatry is readily apparent in the corpus. For two of the plays, the struggle in the New World against the Lutheran Dutch is the inspiration for what are essentially European dramas (*El Brasil restituido* and *Pérdida y restauración de la Bahía de Todos Santos*). Colonial rivalries are very frequently exploited as a backdrop to plays in which Indians have a significant presence. The curious series which comprises *El español entre todas las naciones* and its sequels are the most immediate example of the breadth of vision of the imperial adventurer. In part I, the

hero Ordóñez de Ceballos gives a hyberbolic resumé of his world tour, among which exploits those in the New World are a mere interlude. Naval skirmishes with rival powers are incorporated to bolster the byzantine plots of these plays. (For example, the hero is reported to have been lost at sea in the defeat of the French (*Rocheleses*) off the coast of Cartagena de Indias). Elsewhere, the Conquistadors are consistently described in saintly terms as the western bulwark against foreign heresy. This device, which functions as a given, is particularly apparent in *La sentencia sin firma*, set entirely at court in Spain but featuring a transported Indian woman whose presence serves to contextualise the hegemony over the colonised Indian in terms of the Old World struggle for souls. We are told that Cortés intends these for baptism, and such unctuousness provides for the beatific tone of the response:

> pues mas almas dio en vn dia,
> Cortes a Dios en vn año,
> Lutero a su ciego error,
> y no ay premio a su valor
> pues dio con triunfos, y palmas,
> a España infinito honor.
> (Avila 1652: 125R)

Once the location transfers to the Indies, evangelisation substitutes for counter-reformation. The cleansing of temples and the destruction of idols become an immediate priority. Luis Bertrán, taken prisoner by idolatrous Indians, prays:

> Divino manso cordero
> por mi comprado y vendido,
> Destruya al ydolo vano
> vuestro gran poder oculto
> (Aguilar 1914: 84)

In *El Nuevo Mundo*, Bartolomé Colón undertakes the task himself:

> presume que estos dioses vanos
> han de salir del templo y quedar limpio,
> porque allá dicen las sagradas letras
> que Cristo y Belial, Dios y el demonio
> no se pueden hallar en el mismo lugar
> (Vega 1980: 39)

Act III of Calderón's *La aurora en Copacabana* centres upon the reclamation of the former temple of the sun-god Faubro (i.e. the Devil). In this place, the Satanic cult has grown out of control, until the combined efforts of Spanish soldiers and priests rescue the Indians from its clutches. The converted Indians labour to produce a statue of the Virgin to occupy the site formerly occupied by idols. As one prominent Spaniard recounts:

> ... assí
> donde más la Idolatría
> reynaua, puso la fe
> su española monarquía,
> mostrando quán docta siempre
> la eterna sabiduría
> donde ocurre el mayor daño
> el mayor remedio aplica.
> (Calderón 1994: 197)

This topic, unsuprisingly, provides for some spectacular *coups de théâtre.* The partial rehash of Calderón's *La aurora en Copacabana* shows Candía, the Spanish captain, smashing an idol on stage. At the climactic moment of *El Nuevo Mundo*, a stage direction reads '*Toquen chirimías y descúbrase un altar con muchas velas y una cruz en él, y de arriba caigan los ídolos, y salgan seis demonios*' (Vega 1980: 41).

One of the most brilliant exploitations of the Devil-as-idol-as-deceiver *topos* appears in Claramonte's fascinating and highly original piece *El nuevo rey Gallinato.* Here a renegade Spaniard, Oña, strides onto stage dressed in a costume stolen from an Indian idol, '*con un vestido de guadamecí dorado*'(Claramonte 1983: 243). (This outfit coincides with other devil-costumes described in the corpus). Oña tells the audience:

> Dios parezco por defuera
> de los que se usan aquí ...
> vivo aquí haciéndome dios
> y ansí la gente se engaña
> (Claramonte1983: 243)

To his consternation, the first people he encounters are not natives but Spaniards, who, because of this costume, identify him merely as an Indian: 'El indio llega'. They interrogate him to comic effect as he attempts to dissimulate by inventing some kind of native language. This gibberish misfires badly as we see here (my italics):

Oña:	Maomad	
Olmedo:	Este indio es moro	
Gallinato:	Quedito llegad a oillo	
Oña:	Guan, guan	
Salcedo:	Echadle de ahí *con el diablo*	
Olmedo:	Vete, bárbaro de aquí	
Oña:	Paypajas	
Olmedo:	Pues a un establo	
	si son pajas	
Oña:	Payne	
Olmedo:	Sí	
Oña:	*Satán*	
Olmedo:	Válgate el vocablo	(*Vase* [Oña])
		(1983: 245)

It is a splendid moment, typical of this play, and must have looked and sounded intriguing on stage. Tracing the plotline which leads up to it lends it further resonance. Unrecognised in the scene, Oña is the mortal foe of Gallinato, a former comrade-in-arms whose bride he has eloped with, seduced, and forced into marriage. Having traversed the globe in his flight from Gallinato, he is shipwrecked and lives in the wilderness off the coast of Cambox (Peru) by cadging food from terrified Indians with blasts from his arquebus, and the pretence that he is a god. So before he appears in the scene quoted, the audience knows that he is a liar, a traitor, a cheat and a deceiver, and as such he inadvertently describes himself – 'Satán'.

The most heinous aspect of satanic deception, however, was portrayed as a travesty of the Christian religious rituals and the abhorrent social practices associated with them. In other words, having once established the mental error that governs the conduct of the Indians, a host of other nefarious practices could be explained; indeed

they constitute a satanic requirement if the *engaño* is to be sustained. The context for these satanic sacraments is parody. Cannibalism, blood-drinking and similar atrocities are either referred to, or enacted on stage in the plays as ghoulish ritual, but this is only the superficial manifestation of the Devil's work. Pagden's analysis of the network of diabolic deception traces the intrinsic link between error and perverted rites, in particular (to take the most lurid example) the place of cannibalism:

> aunque las formas de la religión que practicaba la categoría superior de bárbaros podían mostrar en muchos aspectos niveles altos de complejidad y, por tanto, de civilización, también estaban fuertemente marcadas por la inversión o la perversión [...] Satán era capaz de transmitir a los indios una idea distorsionada de cosas como la Trinidad y el nacimiento de la Virgen. Y no sólo transmitía información falsa y se insinuaba en lo que Acosta clasifica como 'sacrificios e idolatría', también 'imitaba' la confesión, la comunión, y la fiesta del Corpus Christi. El Diablo invertía estos ritos cristianos transformando acciones que Dios había instituido para lograr resultados beneficiosos en acciones malvadas destinadas a tener resultados desgraciados. Actuando así, engañaba a la mente india para que cometiera la serie de errores de categoría cruciales que son el origen de todas las formas de religión pagana desde la simple superstición a la auténtica idolatría [...] La 'hostia' azteca se hacía de semillas de amaranto mezcladas con sangre humana [...] 'todas ellas [ceremonias] – escribió Acosta – eran crueles y perjudiciales, como el matar hombres y derramar sangre, o eran sucias y asquerosas, como el comer y beber en nombre de sus ídolos [...]'
>
> Todo esto, por supuesto, está de acuerdo con la antigua imagen de Satán como *Simia Dei*, el archiembaucador de la humanidad. El caso de corrupción satánica más dramático, más ofensivo, actuaba a un nivel más profundo que el ritual. Era el canibalismo. El canibalismo está estrechamente relacionado con el deseo satánico, tanto porque es autodestructor como porque se basa, como hemos visto, en el mismo tipo de error mental que permite el culto a imágenes de madera como si fueran dioses.
>
> (1988: 235-6)

I discuss here the correlation between this theory of parodic and perverted ritual and its enactment in the corpus, by focusing on the representations of cannibalism and blood-drinking. As becomes clear, such scenes are not merely vehicles for sensationalism. By way of preliminary example, it is evident from the *auto La araucana* that awareness of the similarity between Christian and pagan ritual certainly existed. The *auto* had of course been composed specifically for performance at

Corpus Christi celebrations, and in this spirit, the author makes an attempt to re-channel the mental error (which provokes cannibalism) back towards the Christian Eucharist. Here 'Cristo, en figura de Caupolicán' (Vega 1917: 262) offers pagan Indians a chalice and a plate

> que hoy en comida se ofrece
> el que viene a convidaros
> por el cazabe y maíz
> pan de los cielos os traigo,
> que en leche los pechos puros
> de una Virgen lo amasaron;
> y por ver que sois amigos
> de carne humana, hoy os hago
> plato de mi carne misma
> (1917: 287)

However *gauche* the above example may appear, it does reflect the methods used to transmit difficult concepts via drama to native audiences in the Indies. The other example of its kind in the corpus is contained in the *loa* to *El divino Narciso* by Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz. To consummate the feast of the seed-god the multitude is urged by pagan entities (Música, América as '*India bizarra*', Occidente as '*Indio galán*') to feed on the effigy of the god himself, composed of 'semillas y de sangre / inocente' (Cruz 1960: 15):

> Demás de que
> su protección no limita
> sólo a corporal sustento
> de la material comida,
> sino que después, haciendo
> manjar de sus carnes mismas
> .....
> de las manchas
> el Alma nos purifica.
> (1960: 5)

It falls to Religión 'con razón, ... / con suavidad persuasiva' (1960: 11), rather than the sword of vengeance threatened by her companion Celo, to expose the satanic lie:

> ¿Hasta dónde tu malicia
> quiere remedar de Dios

las sagradas Maravillas?
Pero con tu mismo engaño
si Dios mi lengua habilita,
te tengo de convencer.
(1960: 13)

Religión explains in detail that nature's bounty is the work of God, thus correcting the "category mistake", before rectifying the inversion manifest in the eucharistic blood and seed idol:

Ya he dicho que es Su infinita
Majestad, inmaterial;
mas Su Humanidad bendita,
puesta incrüenta en el santo
Sacrificio de la Misa,
en cándidos accidentes,
se vale de las semillas
del trigo, el cual se convierte
en Su Carne y Sangre misma.
(1960: 16)

The *auto sacramental* which follows the *loa* is declared to be an allegorical enactment (1960: 18) of this concept for the edification of the pagan abstractions, who are cast according to native typology and costume. She addresses Occidente:

Pues vamos. Que en una idea
metafórica, vestida
de retóricos colores,
representables a tu vista,
te la mostraré; que ya
conozco que tú te inclinas
a objetos visibles, más
que a lo que la Fe te avisa
por el oído; y así,
es preciso que te sirvas
de los ojos, para que
por ellos la Fe recibas.
(1960: 18)

Caupolicán (this time in standard belligerent mode) also appears in *Algunas hazañas,* in a parody of the ritual of the Eucharist. He opens his veins into a drinking vessel fashioned from Valdivia's skull, and the blood is shared among the chieftains. 'En esta sangre mi valor infundo. / Bebed, bebed mi furia' (Ruiz de Alarcón 1946:

490) he proclaims, mimicking Christ's words at the Last Supper 'tomad y bebed, esta es mi sangre' (Fouilloux 1996: 143). In act III of *Arauco domado*, one Indian chieftain ponders the question of peace with the Spanish invader, and is reminded by his indignant peers that he has drunk their blood and eaten their flesh, roasted and raw. He has turned Valdivia's thighbones into trumpets, and his skull into a cup. A description of the skull is noteworthy here: '¿Eres el que, puesto en oro / el casco de su cabeza, / hiciste una hermosa pieza?' (Vega 1993: 126) In other words, the skull is a gilded chalice, the same 'casco engastado' which is used for the blood-drinking rituals on stage (Vega 1993: 132). Lope's intent is clear in this instance: the perversion of Christian ritual is to be symbolised by a travesty of the instruments of the Holy Sacrament.

Closely related to this, there is in *Las palabras a los reyes y gloria de los Pizarros* by Vélez de Guevara an example of perverted ritual specifically inspired by idolatrous belief in Human sacrifice. Tucalpa and his Indian forces, relieved at having survived their first experience of the blast of an arquebus, give thanks to their god, and make the following resolve:

> Por esta piedad a el Sol,
> en su primer arrebol,
> vn hombre sacrifiquemos,
> el primero que en la guerra
> de Tumbez del enemigo
> cautiuaremos.
>
> (Vélez de Guevara n.d: fol.5R)

Calderón's *La aurora* links the practice of human sacrifice to the specific behest of Idolatría. In a brilliant moment Idolatría chants slowly (at the end of every fourth line) her desire:

> Si
> .....
> Obligarme
> .....

Desea
.....
Humana
.....
Vida
.....
El sacrificio
.....
Sea.
(Calderón 1994: 132-3)

The terrified Indians, believing the voice to be that of the sun-god, take up the chant. Later in the play Idolatría plans a ceremony which she hopes 'no quite a mi adoración / lo horroroso y lo sangriento / de mis sacrificios' (1994: 173). (Accordingly, we hear Inga exclaim of a rival, 'no estaré vengado / sin que el coraçón le arranque' [1994: 187]). The chieftain Guáscar is to carry out the sacrifice of the vestal virgin figure, Guacolda. She does not conceal her reluctance and he upbraids her:

¿Qué podrás dezirme, quando
apostatamente fácil
contra el Sol has cometido
el más sacrílego vltrage?
(Calderón 1994: 185)

The inversion of language represented by the recasting of the meanings of "apostasy" and "sacrilege" invigorate this and other scenes in the plays; for example Luis Bertrán is accused of blasphemy in denying the sun-as-creator (Aguilar 1914: 89). There is no doubt that audiences, as in the case of the blood-drinking ritual just described, could have easily identified such blatant abuse of familiar terminology, rhetoric and artefacts. When, through divine intervention, the ceremony is thwarted, Idolatría finds that her voice cannot be heard and she is thus rendered impotent. Her normal channel of communication to the Indian masses is blocked:

No es posible
que en mis ídolos hable
siendo para mí dos vozes
bronce el bronce y jaspe el jaspe;
con que en más estatua que ellos

todos mis sentidos yazen.
(Calderón 1994: 190)

This is as definitive a statement as exists in the plays of the role of the graven image in conveying the deception wrought by the sin of idolatry, the arch-machination of the Devil. It serves to contextualise the emphasis on the physical destruction of idols in scenes quoted previously. These examples from the plays show, I believe, that the representation of Indians is to be interpreted, to a very large extent, in terms of this machination.

Of the dramas located in the New World where Indians take the stage, the following titles have a diabolic presence, whether in person ('Diablo') or via a character or diabolic concept (name given):

Aguilar o Moreto	*Fray Luis Bertrán*	Diablo
Anónimo	*La Araucana* (auto)	Rengo
Ávila, Gaspar de	*El gobernador prudente*	Diablo
Calderón	*La aurora en Copacabana*	Idolatría
Carvajal/Hurtado	*Las cortes de la Muerte* (auto)	Diablo
Claramonte, Andrés de	*El nuevo rey Gallinato*	Idolatría
Gutiérrez de Luna	*Coloquio de los cuatro reyes*	Hongol
Molina, Tirso de	*Amazonas en las Indias*	Martesia/Menalipe
Remón, Alonso	*El español entre [...] naciones Parte 1ª*	Diablo
Torre y Sevil, F de la	*La batalla de los dos*	Diablo
Turia, Ricardo de	*La bellígera española*	Eponamón
Vega, Lope de	*Arauco domado*	Diablo
Vega, Lope de	*El Nuevo Mundo*	Diablo
Vega, Lope de	*El Brasil restituido*	Heregía
Zárate/Enríquez Gómez/Lope	*La conquista de México*	Diablo

There are four other plays also situated in the New World in which the Indians appear. There is no diabolic presence, but the natives are all idolaters:

Belmonte, Luis de, *et al.*	*Algunas hazañas*
González de Bustos	*Los españoles en Chile*
Molina, Tirso de	*La lealtad contra la envidia*
Vélez de Guevara	*Las palabras a los reyes*

In these four we have just seen, for example, that in *Algunas hazañas*, is presented the blasphemous and idolatrous chalice of blood. Similarly, in *La lealtad contra la*

envidia, the neo-allegorical Indian figure, Piurisa (of the type represented by Idolatría), incites the counter-attack of cowardly Indians thus: '¿Vosotros al Sol eterno / llamaréis progenitor / y a la Luna vuestra madre[?]' (Molina 1993c: IV, 128). And the circumstances described previously are equally applicable to *Las palabras a los reyes* in which the status of the Indians as idolaters is presented as a given: the Indian chief, Abataliba, replies to Francisco Pizarro's reading of the *Requerimiento* with an affirmation of idolatry which leads directly to the final rout of the Indian forces (Vélez de Guevara n.d.: fol.15V). (The transcendence of this event will be dealt with later in this study). *Los españoles en Chile* also reveals a disillusioned Caupolicán, renouncing his solar deity (here named Apolo) in these terms:

> no es nuestro dios,
> quien nuestra fama borra;
> no es nuestro Dios,
> aunque esse globo corra.
> quien con viles ensayos
> solo a España caliẽta cõ sus rayos,
> caiga su estatua al suelo.
> no deis ofrẽda a su tonãte ambulo,
> todo el respeto se cõvierte en ira,
> su deidad y su culto son mentira
> (González de Bustos1665: fol.18R)

That is to say, it is essential to take into account either the Devil's intervention, or the presence of his works, in all these plays. Two other plays (both hagiographies), are situated in the Indies without an Indian presence, but with a diabolic one:

Cervantes	*El rufián dichoso*	Demonios
Moreto/Lanini	*Santa Rosa del Perú*	Diablo

Only these three New World plays lack any diabolic presence or idolatrous theme, but notably, Indians do not feature in any of them:

Baeza, Andrés de	*Más la amistad que la sangre*
Correa, Juan Antonio	*Pérdida y restauración de la Bahía de Todos Santos*
Pérez de Montalbán	*La monja alférez*

The New World plays in fact show the most prolific presence of the Devil of any of the sub-genres of the *comedia*, and it is the all-pervasive nature of his arch-deceit which is to have ramifications throughout the corpus for the role played by written documentation, and a great deal of what is said.

* * *

Part Two: Orality and Writing

> La palabra verdadera era precisamente la palabra de Dios, y ésta sólo se podía pronunciar en castellano, la verdadera lengua
>
> (Subirats 1994: 255)

In this part of the chapter, I explore issues surrounding orality and writing. As indicated in the introduction to this study, the position of these topics in the analysis of colonial discourse is already well established. My analysis here, however, seeks to be at one remove from the issues relating to the manipulation of primary sources, such as the letters, memoirs and chronicles of the Indies. In discussing plays originally written down and then verbally performed, I examine here orality and writing on a secondary level.

Playwrights create their colonial discourse often at a chronological distance of a century or more from the events they depict. This is equally true of the theological/political ideas and the embryonic anthropology they engage. The ideas

surrounding the issues of orality and writing in particular can be summarised as follows: by the time of the Conquest, the prestige of Indian oral traditions in no way accords with the metropolitan scale of values which has allowed its own oral heritage to atrophy. Considering Indian languages to be a form of diabolic babble, European society has long since defined itself in terms of the written word (the definition of "written" for the conquerors being strictly alphabetic). The Indians' *quipus* and pictograms which, in various Indian societies, functioned as a platform for the oral transmission of information, were never regarded as an equivalent to "writing", thus rendering centuries of native tradition, religious heritage and law, null and void at the moment of the first encounter, as Elliott has summarised:

> Europa, y la propia España, estaban acostumbradas a la diversidad de lenguas; y aunque el conocimiento del castellano podía permitir a los indios de Nueva España adquirir, en las palabras del real decreto de 1550: 'nuestra policía y buenas costumbres', parece que el principal defecto que se atribuía a las lenguas indias era no tanto su opacidad como el carecer de un alfabeto escrito.
>
> Los europeos del siglo XVI, hijos de una cultura cada vez más dependiente de la palabra escrita, consideraban instintivamente la ausencia de ésta entre los indios de América como un signo de barbarie. ¿No había introducido el venerable Beda las letras en Inglaterra, argumentaba Las Casas, para que sus compatriotas no fueran consideradas bárbaros en adelante? Para Acosta incluso los chinos, que formaban la mayor de las tres categorías de bárbaros, no tenían 'verdadero escrebir y leer, pues no son letras las suyas que sirvan para palabras, sino figurillas de innumerables cosas'. Pero quedó profundamente impresionado por los pictogramas de los mexicanos y por los quipus de los peruanos – dos pueblos que colocaba en la segunda categoría, intermedia de bárbaros. 'Si esto no es ingenio', escribió, 'y si estos hombres son bestias, júzguelo quien quisiere...'.
>
> La equivalencia y posesión del alfabeto era claramente tenida en cuenta por los europeos del siglo XVI, e incluso los más celosos defensores de los indios, como Las Casas, eran incapaces de disimular la existencia de un defecto en este punto. Pero la falta de una lengua escrita era tan sólo una entre las muchas razones que hacían vulnerables a los indios a los ojos de aquellos que dudaban de su capacidad para dirigir sus propias vidas de una manera apropiada sin la ayuda del firme control español.
>
> (1990: 80-1)

Mignolo takes this one stage further:

> It is apparent that the idea of speech and writing held by Castilian men of letters was of crucial importance in the colonization of the New World. Their conception of writing was based on an evolutionary writing at the end of which the alphabet was waiting. It obliterates the fact that the history of writing should be perceived from a co-evolutionary point of view and that "literacy", properly speaking, is a conceptualization of writing based on the alphabet and the concept of "a letter" . The fact remains that Castilians were able to build a pedagogical, administrative and philosophical apparatus based on their conception of language and of a hierarchy of human beings with respect to their lack, or possession of, alphabetical writing.
>
> (1990: 57-8)

And Lienhard has defined this Spanish mindset in striking terms:

> La atribución de poderes poco menos que mágicos a la escritura permite hablar, en un sentido estricto de su fetichización. Los primeros actos de los conquistadores en las tierras apenas 'descubiertas', en efecto, subrayan el prestigio y el poder que aureola, a los ojos de los europeos, la escritura.
>
> (1990: 25)

In accordance with this closed system, the social, legal and spiritual basis of Old World values, enshrined in Scripture and Royal Decree, could never be gainsaid. Because it had no acknowledged basis in European writing, a spoken-only Indian language (dismissed as satanic din) could never challenge the Word of God, or a royal *Requerimiento*. This total erasure of an alien system of epistemology forced metropolitan appraisal of native belief systems to be undertaken via the hegemonic form of transmission – a crucial denial of difference within which even the religious concepts of the conquered were recast so as to demonstrate them to be a mere pagan travesty of the one true Faith. The staging of this assimilation is anchored in the linguistic process.

In approaching orality and writing in the plays I do not seek to re-examine the theological, anthropological and epistemological issues documented by Lienhard, Pagden, Hanke or others. Rather I draw on their analysis of the imposition of oral, and especially written hegemony, as established in the sixteenth-century in the Indies,

prior to the *comedia*.[83] Their essentially historical and anthropological depictions of the fetishisation of writing, or the iniquities of the *Requerimiento*, are therefore a counterpoint to the present literary analysis as I examine how (mis)conceptions of Indian orality and writing are transferred to the Spanish stage, that is, to a medium which itself is a mixture of orality and writing. I explore the extent to which the proto-anthropological conceptualisation of native orality and writing pursued by playwrights can be shown to correspond to that espoused by the Spanish metropolitan intelligentsia.

Subsequent to this, but inextricably associated with it, I discuss a separate operative level of orality and writing - that of the theatrical medium. This has even less relevance to the Indians' native heritage, and is a purely European phenomenon: speeches are made on stage, crafted by Spaniards, within a context that is oral, aural and visual, but which accommodates only with difficulty the silent perusal of written documents. Letters, legal tracts and proclamations only have a life on stage by virtue of their status as theatrical "props". Unless they are meant to be kept secret, they are entirely dependent on a verbal relation of their contents. Failing this, some means has to be found to transmit their status as writing, via a certain mode of enunciation or other clues.

Scraps of writing abound in the plays; the Spaniards brandish documents, read out their contents, even physically destroy them (the ultimate demonstration of their fetishisation). There are letters from spies, lists of groceries, and detailed indictments: all on view to the spectator. But we do not actually have to see such documents for their impact to be felt. On stage, writing is more easily quoted out loud; the Spaniards quote the written law, dismiss verbal law, cite the Scriptures, declaim the terms of the

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[83] On the theology of the New World conquest see Hanke (1976).

imperial *Requerimiento*, and anchor all protocol in precedent, legality, and "the Book". In other words, as portrayed in the plays, the entire politico-religious imperative stands as the verbalisation of written authority - occasionally seen on paper, usually invisible – but certainly all pervasive. Within the oral medium of the theatre, and within the context of the corpus of New World plays, the options open to playwrights are to reinforce, secure, challenge or interrogate the status of "writing" as equivalent to that of the historical European hegemony, where power resides in paper documentation with alphabetic script traced upon it. In the plays, they engage this documentation, its attendant discussion, manipulation and enactment. In this respect, hegemonic writing, as depicted in the corpus, extends beyond the confines of its physical presence on stage as a sheet of paper, and has extra-textual implications also.

So, how far does the creative process go in its characterisation, quotation, and exaltation of hegemonic writing as the foundation and sole medium of cultural and legal reference? The approach adopted by playwrights in this area originates with native orality. In what follows, I quote examples of how the Indians are initially represented as encountering difficulties with spoken language. This may take the form of a lack of comprehension of Spanish. Once this this obstacle has been overcome, however, the focus immediately switches to the problems presented by the unfamiliarity of the natives with Old World phenomena. These difficulties are encapsulated in a notion employed by the dramatists which operates as a given when representing the Indians. I call this trope 'conceptual dysfunction', a ploy which secures the closed system. This permits the Spanish impulse towards evangelisation, territorial seizure, and reduction of the Indians to vassal status, to be given a free hand (Rose 1998: 476-77). I show that the Indians' inability to identify the concepts which underpin European phenomena (such as ships) to be an important platform from

which dramatists can address the more urgent conceptual dysfunction associated with their idolatry and ignorance of the Faith. In this respect the contents of this section depend on assertions just made regarding the role of the Devil. Certain scenes from the corpus already cited are, therefore, re-examined here from this point of view.

With the spoken disadvantage of the Indians secured in the corpus, it only remains to address their formalised traditions of oral history. But this is only undertaken by one playwright, Calderón, and I assess the significance of his "exposé" of satanic duplicity in the false legends of the Incas.

The processes just outlined might seem to imply a graduated series of dramatised developments, but this is not the case. The corpus is a tiny fragment of the *comedia* and the corpus itself disperses into ever-decreasing elements. Only occasionally is there a concatenation of incident in a given play, which leads us from primitive orality through to sophisticated discussion of imperial Law. More typically the analysis which follows is an attempt to establish the core-elements of the status quo vis-à-vis orality and writing in the corpus, and which requires that its component parts be culled from across the body of plays. While it is true that certain plays do heavily exploit the topics just outlined (as testified by their bureaucratic titles: *Las palabras de los reyes*, *La sentencia sin firma*, *El gobernador prudente* and so on) others merely draw upon the issues without investigating them. It is only by examining a range of plays – necessarily fragmented – that the sum of the parts can inform upon the whole. The elements outlined above are tackled by playwrights in the corpus with mixed results. They are to be seen in conjunction with the visual, aural and oral components of the generalised assault on Satanism. Taken as a whole, they constitute the philosophical momentum behind the dramatisation of Spanish involvement in the New World.

Having addressed the manipulation of Indian orality, I then shift the focus to writing. The final part of this section deals with the historical absurdities of the enactment of the *Requerimiento*, which I define as the consummate "performance" of writing. I examine the approach of playwrights in absorbing and dispersing it into their representation of the Conquest.. I show how certain playwrights circumvent the worst excesses of its use and abuse, as they attempt to retrieve the spirit of its intention. Lope, on the other hand – with typical adroitness - seizes upon its protocols in order to expose its hypocrisy and violence. I link this trait to McKendrick's vision of Lope as the arch-manipulator of rhetorical "politeness", and show his "anti-*Requerimiento*" to be a classic interrogation of the prevailing belief-system.

* * *

To begin at the most elementary stage in the process, how did Spaniards react to the sound of Indian languages in contemporary terms? And how was this conceptualisation transferred to the stage? To answer this, we can point to examples in the corpus of how Indian languages (or rather pseudo-languages) are debased as animal-sounds. With an added dash of xenophobia, these are then ascribed to Satanism. Pagden quotes the sixteenth-century view of Hinojosa that the majority of Indian languages are 'tan ynaccessibles y dificultosas que no parecen ynstituidas por hombres, sino por la naturaleza como vozes ylliteradas de paxaros o animales brutos, que no se pueden escrivir con ningún género de characteres'. Pagden continues: 'la transcripción es una característica fundamental del verdadero lenguaje de la *scientia*. Como los alfabetos se crearon para expresar los sonidos articulados de las lenguas

potencialmente literarias, en opinión de Hinojosa, era tan imposible transcribir una palabra india como el grito de un mandril'(1988: 244-5).

Despite such misgivings, Claramonte, in the scene quoted in the previous chapter from *El nuevo rey Gallinato*, does attempt just this type of facetious transcription. This, we may recall, conflates the Otherness of Moors, barbarians, and Indians within a few words:

Olmedo:	Este indio es moro	
Gallinato:	Quedito llegad a oillo	
Oña:	Guan, guan	
Salcedo:	Echadle de ahí *con el diablo*	
Olmedo:	Vete, bárbaro de aquí	
Oña:	Paypajas	
Olmedo:	Pues a un establo	
	si son pajas	
Oña:	Payne	
Olmedo:	Sí	
Oña:	*Satán*	
Olmedo:	Válgate el vocablo	(*Vase* [Oña])
		(Claramonte 1983: 245)

The barking dog sound and the reference to stables reduce the "Indian" to the status of the Spaniard's favourite epithet: *bestia.* All these aspects are then flatly associated with the Devil, who is mentioned twice (emphasis added) once by Salcedo in a routine but ironic oath, the second time by Oña himself in a telling example of what we would now call a Freudian slip. Olmedo's valediction confirms it. It ridicules Indian languages as inferior and formless babble. The gibberish purveyed by Oña and its clear link to the Devil is a humorous exploitation of a *topos* that in fact provoked serious debate throughout the sixteenth-century about the means in which the evangelical struggle was to be engaged. The demonic nature of native languages had always aroused trepidation among thelogians:

> Después de todo, el mismo Satán (según Eusebio) hablaba a los hombres 'en una serie de ruidos y sonidos bárbaros e ininteligibles' y se sabía que los egipcios habían invocado a sus terribles dioses en lenguas similares. A la mayoría de los europeos, en particular a los que no podían hablarlas, les

> parecía que las lenguas indias pertenecían a esa categoría y, como afirmaba López Mendel, 'con palabras bárbaras los demonios suelen ... deleitarse mucho'.
>
> (Pagden 1988: 244)

Those missionaries who favoured attempting to evangelise the Indians in their own languages, via translations of the Scriptures or indigenous renderings of such concepts as the Holy Trinity, were overruled because of the high risk of theological error - even heresy - that such practice might imply. And by the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Crown insisted on the sole use of Spanish: 'Habiendo Hecho particular examen ... sobre si aún en en la más perfecta lengua de los indios se pueden explicar bien y con propiedad los Misterios de nuestra Santa Fe Católica, se ha reconocido, que no es posible sin cometer grandes disonancias é imperfecciones' (Pagden 1988: 244)

One suspects that playwrights might have been only too willing to concur with this ruling as they sought to represent initial verbal encounters between Spaniards and Indians on the stage. There is a fortunate coincidence beween the Crown *diktat* and staged representation in this respect, given that, not unnaturally, the corpus relies almost exclusively on Spanish to convey speech. There are obvious reasons for this: no writer wishes to tax the patience of an audience renowned for its irascibility. Vélez de Guevara, for example, circumvents completely the laborious procedure of representing an alien tongue in the very first encounter with the Indians in *Las palabras a los reyes*. Francisco Pizarro utters the single word *Indios* which elicits the reply 'en nuestro lẽguage nos hablã' (n.d.: fol.4V). This is the only time in the corpus that the audience is specifically informed that Spanish is being used to represent dialogue in a native language, although, as we see below, the presumption of such dramatic licence is frequently exploited.

Even when poets restrict the amount of pseudo-Indian gibberish, they

nevertheless find it vital to convey at least the notion of a language barrier if only for functional reasons required by the plot. *La conquista de México*, for example, is a play which is insistent on the topic of language and writing, and has Cortés express his exasperation at not knowing the language of the Indians as he exclaims to his interlocutor:

> ¡Ah cielos, si aquesta lengua
> me infundiérades ahora!
> Que es fuerza que quien la ignora
> caiga mil veces en mengua
> (Zárate 1993: 239)[84]

Overall, in dramatising the language barrier, the manner in which playwrights approach the *topos* varies. Attempts were often made to mimic the graduation from initial comprehension to rudimentary communication, not all of them successful. *La conquista de México* contains a cumbersome scene in which the interpreter Aguilar supervises the Marina/Malinche character as she "translates" back to Cortés remarks made by Motezuma's envoy Teudellí, who in fact speaks to her in Spanish throughout! This ill-conceived combination produces the following exchange;

Teudellí:	… a mi rey hablaré
Mariana:	Yo le hablaré y le diré
	lo que tu lealtad promete.
Cortés:	Yo hablaré de tu parte
	a Teudellí
Aguilar:	Que le habló,
	dice, y que te respondió.
Mariana:	Que en todo quiere ablandarte,
	que a Motezuma dirá
	lo que ha sabido de mí …

(1993: 237)

Nowhere else in the corpus does any poet become entrapped to this extent; it is an indicator of the possible pitfalls of too literal an attempt to transmit in dramatic terms the tedium of multiple translation, and of why poets almost always opted for a

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[84] In his edition of the play, Ruiz Ramón has 'en mengua' as meaning 'en falta' (Zárate 1993: 237 note 91).

stylised depiction of primitive communication. This sentiment is a precursor to a more overt expression of the urgency to facilitate the vindication of Spanish as a technically and (more importantly) morally superior means of communication. The representation of the evolution of the relationship between the conquerors and the conquered in some plays is predicated upon the process of the transition from satanic babble to the language of salvation. The acceptance of this transition on the part of the Indians obviously implies the collusion of vanquished peoples in their own subjection - that is, it encapsulates the fantasy of hegemony. As the spiritual hegemony of the Catholic Church is established linguistically, so is its imperial counterpart. A scene earlier in the same play, paradoxically, is a good example; it shows the first encounters between Spaniards and Indians, and illustrates some of the techniques of linguistic hegemony outlined above. It skilfully interpolates the theme of evangelisation into the graduation from animal noises and sign-language through to first use of Christian Spanish. The soldier Ortuña has lustful designs on three Indian women (Glaura, Guainacaba, and Alcinda) but is frustrated by encountering Cortés and Alvarado:

Glaura:	Anan, caipí,chaipí
	.....
Ortuño:	Estas mujeres hallé;
	Como la lengua no sé,
	De solas señas me valgo
	.....
Guainacaba:	Allichac, allichaquen
	.....
Cortés:	no venimos a ofender
	Cristianos somos, cristianos;
	Cristianos decid allá.
Alcinda:	¿Cristianos?
Alvarado:	Ya lo aprende.

(Zárate 1993: 211-12)

Here, a theoretical threshold has already been crossed. The sign language of the base

Ortuño and the grunting of the women has immediately evolved into the pronunciation of a first word in Spanish administered by the saintly Cortés. The word being 'Cristianos', it befits the transcendental objective of a mythologised Cortés in conquering Mexico: the harvesting of souls for the Faith. So when Alvarado exclaims 'Ya lo aprende' he is confirming not only linguistic competence but the beginnings of spiritual enlightenment.

In the corpus, verbal incomprehension is not, however, the only barrier to overcome in the assimilation of Indians into the Spanish Christian way of life. The Indians either talk among themselves in what we must assume for dramatic purposes is their native tongue, or they attempt to articulate certain ideas in newly-acquired Spanish to their masters. In both circumstances, however, it is clear from many scenes in the plays that their conceptual (rather than merely linguistic) grasp is meant to be seen as woefully short of the capacity required for civilising purposes. This representation extends to all the standard areas of unfamiliarity with the Old World, and their inability to imagine the function of its phenomena is inextricable from their conceptual incapacity as a whole. Thus, for example, an Indian describes to his fellows that strange composite-animal, the horse and rider:

> uno de aquellos que llaman
> caballos, y otros sobre él
> de vista airada y cruel,
> que tantas barbas enraman,
> no acabelle de entender
> con dos caras que tenía;
> la más grande que salía
> por medio, a mi parecer,
> y la que arriba mostraba.
> (Zárate 1993: 247)[85]

[85] In the same speech an ingenuous reference is made to a Spaniard loading a harquebus : 'de comer le dio'(Zárate 1993: 247).

Similarly, in *El Nuevo Mundo*, the pattern of conceptual dysfunction provides the context for the representation of the comically ridiculous Indian, as women flee from their own reflection in mirrors offered as gifts (Vega 1980: 24). The ships the Indians see are 'buhíos'(1980: 25), a horse and rider are once more seen as a single entity: 'el traía dos cabezas, / y la una a la mitad / del cuerpo' (1980: 26). They are baffled by Spanish facial hair and horses' tails, both described as beards: 'las que el hombre trae en la cara / tiene el otro por detrás' (1980: 26). In *La aurora en Copacabana* Indians also describe ships, this time as 'vn escollo que nauega' (Calderón 1994: 112), or a 'preñada nube' (1994: 113). The launch of a skiff by the Spaniards translates as 'de su vientre arroja / otro menor ... / de su seno echa / vn hombre, al parecer' as one Indian asks:

¡Cielos!
¿Qué generación es ésta
que vna bestia grande pare
otra pequeñita bestia,
y esta bestia pequeñita
vn hombre?
(1994: 122)[86]

These naïve interpretations of concrete phenomena are of course stylised depictions of supposedly authentic native ingenuousness, and act as a cipher for a more sophisticted preoccupation felt historically with regard to the Indians' inability to absorb abstract thought. The challenge for playwrights was to attempt in some way to portray characters on stage who could be perceived as conceptually backward while at the same time susceptible to evangelisation. This exempts the stage-Indians somewhat from the historical disillusionment and pessimism of contemporary theologians in this regard, whose despair at Indian resistance to abstractions was even felt by enlightened

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[86] Similarly, in *Las palabras de los reyes* the Indians ask 'ves sobre el mar / agora vn monte nadar?'. The ship is described as a 'monstruo marino ... aue del Sol' (Vélez de Guevara n.d.: fol.4R). Later in the play, as incursions develop, it is said by Tucapela that the Spaniards 'andan para las batallas / en vnas grandes ovejas, / que llaman ellos cauallos' (Vélez de Guevara n.d.: fol.15R).

commentators who, according to Pagden, would bemoan

> la aparente inexistencia en tantas lenguas indias de términos para abstracciones fundamentales y su incapacidad para expresar nociones que se suponían universales [...] las lenguas indias no sólo no poseían términos para abstracciones como éstas, lo que era más importante para los misioneros, también carecían, o parecía que carecían, de otros conceptos clave: "Dios", por ejemplo, y "religión", "fe", "cruz", "ángel", "virginidad" y "matrimonio"; y generalmente eran, como observó Acosta, pobres en términos teológicos y filosóficos. No era sorprendente que razas que tenían tan poca scientia que muchas de ellas no podían medir el tiempo o el espacio tambien carecieran de 'ciertas palabras que expresan ciertos misterios, cuio uso a quedado oy sólo para los theólogos'
>
> (1988: 241-2)

For playwrights, of course, dramatised adherence to such precepts would have evacuated all creative resource, and have been incompatible with plot development, but by virtue of the licence which they accord themselves in the use of Spanish, playwrights are able to portray the glimmer of conceptual light dawning upon the Indian psyche, as a prelude to their ultimate absorption into a Christian way of life. An examination of *Las palabras a los reyes* provides an example of this. In the manner already mentioned, the warrior princess Tucapela struggles fancifully to identify a European ship, but this misapprehension is merely a precursor to a more profound category mistake:

> Quando a la playas mias
> llegò de lienço y tablas,
> el primer monstruo vuestro,
> que vieron estas playas.
> Para veneno mio
> echò de sus entrañas
> vn hombre de vosotros
> sin temor y con barbas,
> de los que fulminando
> rayos, a semejança
> de los Dioses del Cielo,
> andais en carne humana.
>
> (Vélez de Guevara n.d.: fol.10V)

Much of the relationship which then develops between the Pízarro brothers and the lovelorn Tucapela centres upon the struggle to engage with abstract thought.

Concepts such as the "soul", "love" and "jealousy", provoke discussion which is exploited engagingly by Vélez de Guevara as he breathes new life into commonplace conceits. For example, the lovestruck Tucapela cites the soul in routine fashion; she experiences 'vn blando ardor; que se fue / al alma' (n.d.: fol.5V), or declares that 'me á alborotado / el alma'(n.d.: fol.6R). But Vélez then goes to rework the motif in literal terms which demonstrate that she cannot in fact grasp the actual nature of the soul: she believes that she has been physically robbed of it, as if it were a tangible object and subsequently asks Fernando Pizarro

> Que as hecho del alma mia[?]
> .....
> porque no uvieras tenido
> conmigo tanta piedad.
> Sino es que quieres hazerme
> de vn alma restitucion
> .....
> No me buelvas a engañar.
> dame; gallardo Español,
> el alma de Tucapela
> .....
> si de estos escollos duros
> no tienes alma; la mia
> me buelve
>
> (n.d.: fol.10R-10V)

The poignancy of these lines resides not only in her gullible adherence to the poetic conceit, but also in the dramatic irony of her plaintive appeals intended for Franciso Pizarro, but made unwittingly to his brother – a demonstration of ingenuousness on multiple levels. A similar instance occurs when, once reunited with Francisco, she quizzes him on his mention of abstractions such as "jealousy" and "love". 'Que son zelos? ... Mas que el amor puedẽ ser?' she asks. She makes her inquiries literally, whereas he replies with a poetic conceit: 'Mas suelen ser que el amor, / que solo el Infierno llega / a su passion, loca y ciega' (n.d.: fol.13R). Having thus established Tucapela's naiveté, Vélez links this firmly to pagan alienation from the Faith. As

Francisco flees from her charms, she reaches inside his undershirt and pulls out a portrait of the Virgin. For a moment, it appears that the beauty of the image is about to allow Tucapela a glimpse of a transcendental Christian truth:

> Amor y respecto ponen
> sus hermosos ojos, Reyna
> de regiones soberanas
> parece; muger que enseñas
> tanta deidad en ti misma,
> quien eres, que en tu presencia
> todo el Cielo está cifrado
> con los mejores Planetas?

But she can only interpret the icon in literal terms:

> Por esta muger, por esta muger
> que trae en el pecho aqueste
> Español, me olvida y dexa.
> .....
> Despues de quitarme el alma,
> los sentidos, las potencias,
> por otra muger se abrasa,
> por otra muger me niega?
> Loca estoy, estos sin duda
> son zelos, passion mas fiera
> que el amor
>
> (n.d.: fol.13V-14R)

Fernando now explains to her that she is Mary, the Mother of God ('la goza el Cielo por Reyna'), but Tucapela's conceptual dysfunction operates at a literal and spiritual level and she, awestruck, cannot understand. Her jealousy overrides her curiosity and the scene now breaks up amid angry recriminations (for purposes of the plotline) with Tucapela firing a blank shot at Francisco in a rage.

The conversion of Tucapela, which duly takes place at the end of the play, is not pursued intellectually by Vélez. She accepts baptism as the Indians are defeated, but the playwright does not persist in the effort to depict her spiritual transition from paganism to Christianity. Upon the defeat of the Indians, Tucapela - despite her obtuseness - is given pre-eminence as leader of all the *caciques* in the ritual

acceptance of baptism at the end of the play. She is sponsored by none other than Charles V and the Empress as godparents. This is not to detract from the intellectual thrust of the play overall. As is discussed later in this chapter, *Las palabras* is an intensely legalistic exercise masquerading as militaristic triumphalism, and the play never aspires to concern itself with the minutiae of theological debate.

For an example of this, we must turn to a drama of the millenarist type. Plays of this nature are devoted exclusively to representing the acquisition of enlightenment on the part of the natives, that is, tracing their evolution from pagan superstition (as defined once again by Pagden):

> Lo significativo de la superstición es que se base en una confusión de categorías que sólo es posible en personas que carecen de la verdadera scientia, que realmente 'no comparten la educación del mundo'. Esas tribus indias, como los habitantes de "Barbaria", a los que Gregorio el grande había castigado por adorar objetos de piedra y madera 'como animales insensatos', habían confundido a la criatura con el creador. Por esto, en palabras de San Pedro, habían sustituido 'al dios verdadero por uno falso' (Romanos1.25) [...]
>
> Por tanto, sólo era necesaria una demostración persuasiva de la confusión de la categoría en que tales creencias estaban fundadas para erradicarlas ... Acosta describía como 'un capitán inteligente, que era un buen cristiano', había convertido a un cacique de tribu que adoraba al sol:
>
> > pidió al cacique y señor principal, que le diese un indio ligero para enviar una carta: diósele tal y preguntóle el capitán al cacique. Dime, ¿quién es el señor y principal; aquel indio que lleva la carta tan ligero o tú que se la mandas llevar? Respondió el cacique: yo sin ninguna duda, porque aquel no hace más de lo que yo le mando. Pues eso mismo (replicó el capitán) pasa entre ese sol que vemos y el creador de todo.
>
> Después de que se le había explicado al indio en términos que podía entender, términos que apelaban a su propia experiencia de la realidad, la verdadera relación entre las cosas de la naturaleza, podía ver inmediatamente la falsedad de una religión que implicaba una inversión de esa relación.
>
> Todas las formas de superstición, tanto si consistían en la simple adoración a piedras, rocas y árboles, como en la adoración más sofisticada a fuerzas naturales, cuyo poder sobre las vidas de los hombres es evidente, están basadas en el tipo de confusión fundamental de categorías que el jefe de Acosta había cometido al sol con 'El que lo mueve'.
>
> (1988: 228-9)

We can compare this to a scene in the corpus which uses standard theological debate of this type. In Aguilar's *Fray Luis Bertrán*, the saint is accused of blasphemy in mentioning the light of the sun - the Indians' 'Dios supremo' (1914: 88). In denying the charge he attempts to divert them and their queen from their error:

> Que yo solo he murmurado
> del sol, pues segun se ve,
> no es criador sino criado,
> .....
> Que aunque le teneys respeto
> por el resplandor que encierra,
> que es, gran Reyna, te prometo,
> vn gusano de la tierra
> en quanto al ser mas perfeto.
> No imagines que es fingida
> esta razon, ni aparente;
> que el gusano tiene vida,
> pero el Sol es solamente
> vna lampara encendida.
> (1914: 89)

Unlike Acosta's chief, however, Aguilar's stage-Indians require further and more theatrical means of persuasion. In order to confirm the success of the saint's exposition, the first in a series of miracles is now introduced. At the request of an Indian convert, Luis baptises a child that has died at birth. From the mouth of the child, its soul is borne aloft by angels, provoking the conversion of sceptical native onlookers (Aguilar 1914: 91). This play goes on to draw consistently on the same metaphor as encapsulated in the issue of the soul from the mouth. When challenged, Luis later agrees to drink poison proffered by resolute idolaters among the Indians. He does not die, and the poison ('*que en sierpe se ha convertido*') emerges from his mouth (1914: 111) to general amazement, repentance, and further conversions among his persecutors. In a third instance (with Luis having returned to the Peninsula) a man is mortally injured by a madman run amok He says as he is about to expire: 'sale el alma afligida / con los ultimos bostezos / por la boca de la herida' (Aguilar 1914:

145). He is saved by placing Luis's Rosary around his neck. This insistence on the mouth as a conceit is a reference to Luis's legendary reputation for preaching and conversion, for the injured man has collapsed in a fortunate place: 'Iunto a Predicadores / estas' says the victim's companion. 'O bien celestial' cries the man in his knowledge of certain salvation (1914: 145). [87]

The impetus behind the use of this motif is to ensure that the image conveyed in this play is that of the Church Militant, which uses the Word of God as its weapon in the conquest of souls. This explains why, on his return from the New World, his fame assured, Luis is greeted by the mildly cryptic comparison 'Bertran, que ha venido / de las Indias, y ha traydo / mas que Cortes y Colon' (1914: 130). The tension between the competing claims on the New World, the quest for booty as opposed to souls for the Faith, is an element to be factored into any examination of plays in the corpus, and elsewhere in this study there is reference to various playwrights' insistence upon the piety of Cortés and Columbus in plays that portray moments of extreme violence. The utopian vision proclaimed in Fray Luis Bertrán, however, is marked by its renunciation of physical conflict, the refusal of Luis to be provoked, and (as in the case of the chalice of poison willingly imbibed) an almost fatalistic resignation to Divine Providence. Nowhere is the contrast between violence and the Word more clearly drawn than in an incident in which the Indian Leucoton attacks Luis with a sword. The stage direction reads: '*Aßi como le va a dar, se pone en medio la rama de vn arbol, y descarga en ella el golpe, y haze la espada pedaços*'. Luis responds with unworldly serenity:

> Que mal te ha hecho el arbol?
> ..... Que daño
> del arbol has recebido,

---

[87] On another occasion Luis has said as he cures a man: 'La boca y ojos pondre / en las llagas que mostrays' (1914: 139).

que con rigor tan estraño
cortar su tronco has querido?
(1914: 101)

The fiery Leucoton now kneels before Luis in acquiescence, but in his choice of words is deliberate in the mode of his reconciliation: 'Conozco padre mi engaño' he declares (1914: 101). He has thrown off satanic deceit; it is a conceptual, spiritual victory for Luis, without the paraphernalia of militarism or triumphalism. *Fray Luis Bertrán* as a work of theatre is thus an exercise in the triumph of verbal reasoning.

Although other dramatists are by no means as intent on this issue as Aguilar in this unalloyed hagiography, the improbable piety of Cortés, Columbus, and don García in other plays is a manifestation of the pervasive tension which exists in the corpus between the quest for booty and the quest for souls. So how do the militaristic (as opposed to the millenarist) plays sustain this differentiation on a theoretical level? How do they reconcile the historical vilification endured for untrammelled rape of the New World on the one hand, and the ideal of responsible governance on the other? Only by reference to the law can this be achieved, as articulated by the bloody don García in *El gobernador prudente*:

Dos partes distintas son
letras y armas, pero aquí
las dos se juntan por sí
en una conforme unión
(Ávila 1917: 68)

The exaltation of the Law (legalism, legal precedent) is an obssessive feature of the militaristic plays. No opportunity is spared to claim the Law's future protection or retrospective sanction. The all-pervasive denial of difference dictates that imperial Spanish law is universal law: natives included. In support of this, it is important for authors to establish within the corpus that the Indians' pretensions to their own law is worthless - mere verbosity. They effectively have no law because it is not

underpinned by writing as the invaders understand it. The Spaniards' duty therefore is to impose the Law. So when Cortés disdainfully rejects the proposed marriage of Aguilar to Mariana in *La conquista de México*, it is couched in terms which relegate facile words, and the territory which exalts them, to moral bankruptcy:

> Bien haya tierra en que nace
> amor tan desnudo a viento
> que todo le satisface,
> y, en fin, donde un casamiento
> con dos palabras se hace.
> (Zárate 1993: 235)

Instead, Mariana's function in the play will be to act as his interpreter, and in her first assignment she articulates the same point: the Spaniards are here to establish the rule of Law. She approaches the chieftain Teudellí on Cortés's behalf. Prefacing her statement significantly with news of her change of name (from a pagan to a Christian one: 'no soy Arima, Mariana / es mi nombre solamente'), she declares:

> dice que Carlos, su Rey,
> gran emperador de España,
> supo que una gente extraña
> vivía sin Dios, sin ley,
> en el antártico mundo,
> y que mandó que viniese
> un capitán que les diese
> ley.
> (1993: 236)

These precepts - the Law and God's Law - form the basis of the climactic action of *Los guanches de Tenerife.* In this play the Spaniard Castillo romances the native princess Dácil. Having been subsumed into native life for a year, and dressed *en habito de bárbaro* (with all that this implies) he promises to be her husband (Vega 1950b: 107). There being no witness to this pledge she calls upon a rock (rumoured to hold hidden treasure) to fulfill the function. She has him place his hand upon it and swear. Although he sneers 'Todavía / eres bárbara' (1950b: 108) Castillo goes on to pronounce in unequivoval terms 'Pues, digo a fe de quien soy, de ser tu esposo y

marido' (1950b: 108). However, once Spanish victory has been secured and he has regained his place among their forces, he attempts to renege upon it: '¿Piensas que hablan las peñas?' he asks scornfully. At this point the rock is split asunder and the true *tesoro* of the hills is revealed to be the image of Virgin of the Candles (Virgen Candelaria) flanked by the ominous presence of St. Michael the Archangel. Castillo prudently revises his stance, recognises his commitment, and a series of mixed marriages between Spaniards and natives is concluded, the rock now becoming the sacred temple of the Virgin of the Candles (1950b: 119).

The import of this scene is that the sanction required of mere words given insincerely to a *bárbara* has to be delivered by emblems of the Faith which Castillo espouses. Even so, Castillo makes clear that his promise will only be fulfilled 'en siendo Dácil cristiana' (1950b: 119). In other words, the legal status of the verbal, moral imperative is only secure within the context of Christianity. Castillo's jibe about 'peñas que hablan' is identical to Cortés's 'dos palabras', at least as regards a contract of marriage.

Contemporary perceptions reflected the view that words were among the elements least worthy of consideration that pagans had to offer. The consequence of this was not only to eliminate the credibility of the Indians' cultural heritage but to assign inferior intelligence to them, as Mignolo reports: 'While Torquemada aligned the Aztecs' lack of letters with their lack of written histories, de Gante equated such an inadequacy with their deprived intelligence'(1989: 66-7).

To enlarge on one of these ideas (the purported lack of written histories) Pagden details scepticism expressed in the sixteenth-century regarding the legitimacy of this heritage:

> Una de la explicaciones obvias ofrecidas para la superioridad de la palabra escrita sobre la hablada era la forma en que la información se distorsiona en la

transmisión. En las sociedades ágrafas, las genealogías que componen gran parte de su historia no son una crónica precisa de acontecimientos pasados, sino que sirven de «recursos mnemotécnicos para las relaciones sociales». De vez en cuando era necesario hacer algunas modificaciones en las crónicas bien por cambios en la estructura de la sociedad o porque el constante alargamiento de las genealogías exige un proceso de ajuste para que el pasado siempre se perciba con la misma duración. Estas características condujeron a los españoles a quejarse de que las historias indias eran irremediablemente confusas y, en opinión de Acosta, 'más parecen sueños los que refieren, que historias'. La reducción generacional también significaba que sólo cubrían un período de cuatrocientos años, antes del cual 'todo es pura confusión y oscuridad'. Como se reconocía que esas "historias" cumplían el papel, en gran medida simbólico, de determinar las relaciones sociales en el presente, a los europeos les parecían indistinguibles del mito. Y para un hombre de la formación de Acosta, la incapacidad para distinguir entre el mito y la historia era consecuencia de la incapacidad de los indios para desarollar un alfabeto adecuado.

(1988: 248)

The most prominent occasion in the corpus on which the notion of an indigenous cultural heritage is raised, appears to take its cue not from awareness of Indian mnemonics, but from this kind of reservation. This is the incident already mentioned from *La aurora en Copacabana* in which the Idolatría character exposes the lie at the centre of the 500-year empire of the Incas. A closer examination of the scene provides evidence of the distortion 'confusión y oscuridad' posited above. There is even an approximation of Acosta's time-scale for the Inca pseudo-history. The difference in Calderón's vision, however, is that these shortcomings are overtly generated by satanic intervention. The history is exposed as being not of indigenous origin at all, but a fraud - a travesty of the one true Faith of the Spaniards.

As she initiates this revelatory process, Calderón has Idolatría disabuse Inga of the nature of his heritage in brutal fashion:

En efeto,
te fundas en que es herencia
y no dádiua este reyno,
... porq[ue] en esso
no te fíes: ni el sol fue
tu padre ni pudo serlo,
ni este imperio, sin mí, pudo

ser tuyo.

(1994: 144)

A few moments later she specifies the timescale for the deception:

De suerte que deste engaño
descien[n]des, y ...
... en quinie[n]tos
años de la inmemorial
possessión, ya es tuyo el reyno

(1994: 149)

Although Calderón is diverting the reputed unreliability of native histories for his own puposes here (as a vehicle to expose the satanic inversion of the Second Coming) the dramatic ploy involved does rely on the obfuscation of memory ('la inmemorial possessión') down many centuries ('quinie[n]tos años') when all can be shown by the playwright to have indeed been 'pura confusión y oscuridad'. The net effect of Calderón's staging of this scene (unique in the corpus) is to collude in the elimination of the historical basis of indigenous oral heritage and the format for its recitation, and to supplant it with an oral subversion of a European written source (the Bible), which travesty is subsequently discredited.

Native oral history from the pen of Calderón, then, does not exist in recognisable anthropological form. This is not a criticism, indeed it accords with the complete omission throughout the corpus of any acknowledgement of alternative systems to writing. This mirrors historical scepticism, which inevitably relapsed into the familiar obsession with Satanism:

Los Europeos, convencidos por su propia práctica – de la existencia de un vínculo orgánico entre la escritura y un sistema ideológico-religioso, no tardaron, en efecto, a considerar los sistemas de notacion autóctonos como invenciones del demonio, fundador, según ellos, de las 'idolatrías' indígenas. La destrucción de la supuesta base de las culturas autóctonas se les impuso, pues, como una necesidad urgente.

(Lienhard 1992: 41)

We have seen that the destruction of graven images is indeed staged on

various occasions, but even the existence of pictographs and *quipus* is not acknowledged in the corpus. In this the playwrights are even more restrictive than the theorists and never give credit on stage to the Indians for any indigenous epistemological capacity outside the parameters of speech. Rather, in an attempt to promote the transcendency of the alphabet, they oblige the Indians to operate solely within its confines. This is a reflection of the fact that, in political and legal affairs, the corpus implicitly or explicitly insists upon written documentation. As is the case with other European phenomena, the Indians' introduction to western script, as represented on stage, portrays them as being incapable of grasping its function. To examine one of these instances, in act III of *El Nuevo Mundo*, Lope links the conceptual gap specifically to the written word by using a familiar *exemplum* from the Chronicles of the Indies. The Indian Auté, has eaten oranges meant for Fray Buyl, but is betrayed by the existence of a written message disclosing the contents of the original cargo. Lemartinel and Minguet remark:

> Il est certain que Lope a trouvé l'idée de cette scène chez López de Gómara. Dans un passage consacrée aux 'Milagros de la conversión' que Fray Buyl et douze 'clérigos' qui l'accompagnaient ont accompli à la Española (Haïti), Gómara rapporte l'anecdote suivante: 'Hicieron tambien mucho al caso de las letras y cartas, que unos a otros españoles escribían; ca pensaban los indios que tenían espíritu de profecía, pues sin verse ni hablarse se entendían, o que hablaba el papel, y estuvieron en esto abobados y corridos. Aconteció luego a los principios que un español envió a otro una docena de hutias fiambres porque no se corrompiesen con el calor. El indio que los llevaba durmióse o cansóse por el camino, y tardó mucho a llegar adonde iba; y así tuvo hambre o golosina de las hutias, y por no quedar con dentera ni deseo, comióse tres. La carta que trajo en respuesta decía como le tenía en merced las nueve hutias, y la hora del día que llegaron; el amo rindió al indio. El negaba, como dicen, a pié juntillas; mas como entendió que lo hablaba la carta, confesó la verdad. Quedó corrido y escarmentado, y publicó entre los suyos cómo las cartas hablaban para que se guardasen dellas'.[88]
>
> (Vega 1980: 64 note 8)

[88] Lemartinel and Minguet report the *hutia* to be a rat-like Caribbean rodent (Vega 1980: 64 note 8).

In the play, Lope substitutes the *hutias* by oranges. The thief, Auté, is caught out by Fray Buyl, who reads the note to the amazement of the Indian. Significantly, Auté's misconception is that such power is divine:

> ¡Por el sol, que el papel habla!
> .....
> Bien digo yo que éste es dios
> Y que hace hablar a quien quiere
> .... de rodillas pido
> al papel y a ti perdón.
>
> (1980: 35)

Frayl Buyl absolves him from his misdemeanour but attempts to correct his misapprehension:

> ¡Qué temor
> tiene al papel!
> Auté: ¡Oh, traidor!
> Fray Buyl: Mirad que es Dios el juez
>
> (1980: 36)

The incident is then repeated with a cargo of olives. Auté covers up the delatory note before ingenuously attempting to consume the stones of four olives (having comically discarded the flesh). Fray Buyl once again discovers the loss, but cannot transmit to the obtuse Auté the conceptual nature of the written word. The Indian escapes punishment, grumbling in his resolve to 'no más fiar del papel' (1980: 38).

This trope is not confined to comic effects. In more ominous circumstances, *La conquista de México* has treacherous Indians gather to plot against Cortés. They are unaware, however, that everything they have said has been written down and sent to him in a letter written by a castaway Spaniard, Aguilar, who has lived among them and understands their language. The revelation of the contents of this letter leaves the Indians incredulous. They are represented as clutching at a concept which they can only interpret as 'encantamentos y artes ' (Zárate 1993: 247). These misconceptions thus provide the platform for the confusion of the Indian messenger as Cortés

confronts him with evidence of the plot which he reads out loud from the missive of Aguilar:

Cortés *(Lee)*	Concertadas treinta naciones amigas están a darte la muerte por orden de Motezuma
Indio	¿Cómo? ¡Que con una pluma me hiciese hablar de esta suerte! ¡Que aquella lengua traía conmigo! Y yo apostaré que le dice que hoy maté veinte pavos que tenía porque no me los comiese.

(Zárate 1993: 249)

The terrified Indian *gracioso* reports the grave turn of events to the plotters - betrayed by 'aquel papel':

Indio:	Lengua y voz tenía
Tolemo:	¿Lengua y voz? ¡Válgame Apolo!
Indio:	Unas rayas negras eran las que hablaban
Tricelo	¿No os alteran aquestos milagros?
Tolemo	No, porque son hechicerías

(1993: 249)

The familiar topos of religious inversion implicit in *hechicerías* signals an abrupt volte-face in the tone of the scene as Cortés arrives and summarily executes all the chieftains despite their pleas for mercy.

However implausible they are, the dramatic value of these scenes involving the use of letters resides in the physical existence on stage of the piece of paper as synecdochic of native ignorance/metropolitan superiority both on a spiritual as well as a epistemological plane. When the Indians are present on stage (as in the instances quoted above) playwrights unanimously concur in the fetishisation of writing – as manifested in Cortés's enunciation of Aguilar's message. Not only does writing possess the intrinsic theological and spiritual cachet which elevates it above the

perceived exclusively oral traditions of the Indians, but playwrights are at pains in many other instances, when the Indians are not present, to represent the act of citation of the written word on stage. In this they are insistently drawing the audience's attention to the separate and superior nature of documentation as opposed to what is merely heard. A brief examination of some of these interludes is revealing.

La sentencia sin firma, by Ávila, is an account of legal charges brought against Cortés for his excesses in the campaign in Mexico. The young Prince (the future Philip II) has the charges against Cortés proclaimed on stage at the court of Charles V - an effective dramatic ploy as the flow of verse is repeatedly interrupted by the prose of the legal document.

At the end of the play, the Prince exonerates him on each charge and Cortés is brought before the court in order to witness the Prince's dramatic gesture: 'Y dezid al Emperador / lo que hago / *Rompe los papeles* '(Ávila 1652: fol.138V). Similarly, in *Las palabras de los reyes*, Vélez de Guevara has a scribe read out an interminable prose letter authorising the Pizarro expedition at the start of the play (n.d.: fol.1V).

Such reading of letters in the plays is a ritual enactment of the power of writing, a ritual quintessential to the assertion of the hegemonic power of Spain in the New World via proclamation. The recitation out loud of a written document in real life is an action which closely approximates to the declamatory nature of theatrical performance, which Lienhard has summarised thus:

> La función primera que se encarga al documento escrito, en efecto, no es la de constatar la toma de posesión, sino, para adoptar un concepto del lingüista J.L. Austin, la de performarla. Ahora, la capacidad performativa de un enunciado depende menos de sus características propias que de la 'existencia de una suerte de ceremonia social que atribuye a tal fórmula, empleada por tal persona en tales circunstancias, un valor particular' (Ducrot/Todorov). Sancionado efectivemente por una puesta en escena determinada, el acto escritural deriva así su eficacia del prestigio que aureola su origen. A los ojos de los conquistadores, la escritura simboliza, actualiza o evoca – en el sentido mágico primitivo – la autoridad de los reyes españoles, legitimada por los

privilegios que les concedió, a raíz de la reconquista cristiana de la península ibérica, el poder papal. A su vez, la institución romana, heredera autoproclamada del legado cristiano, se considera depositaria de la que fue, en la Europa medieval, la Escritura por excelencia: la Biblia. El poder – o la capacidad performativa – que Colón y sus compañeros ven encarnado en el texto escrito resulta, en última instancia, un poder ideológico afianzado en la concepción etnocentrista del valor universal de las Sagradas Escrituras judeo-cristianas.

(1992: 26-7)

This leads to the concluding part of this chapter, a discussion of the *Requerimiento*, in which I discuss a variety of approaches adopted by playwrights to the enactment of this extraordinary document. Its recitation stands as a prime example of the point where life imitates art. The performance of the harangue, its explicit brutality, and the notoriety of its abuse had earned the opprobium of Spain's enemies in the manipulation of the "Black Legend". Recognised as largely preposterous even in its time, there is evidence of the scepticism it provoked in the Chronicles of the Indies, including serious misgivings about the theatricality of its performance, especially when then set against horrific conduct on the part of Spanish insurgents. Hanke reports that the first record we have of an attempt to read the theological document to the Indians comes from the *Historia general* of Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo (1965: 33). It occurred on June 14th 1514 at the port of Santa Marta. Oviedo, then a mere notary, accompanied an expedition of some 300 men to read the *Requerimiento* as provided by law. No Indians were sighted in the interior and when the party eventually came upon a deserted village, Oviedo recalls his own words to the captain:

> en presencia de todos, yo le dije; 'Señor, parésceme que estos indios no quieren escuchar la teología deste Requirimiento, ni vos tenés quien se la dé a entender; mande vuestra merced guardalle, hasta que tengamos algún indio déstos en una jaula, para que despacio lo aprenda, el señor obispo se lo dé a entender.' E dile el Requerimiento, y él lo tomó, con mucha risa dél e de todos los que me oyeron.
>
> (Oviedo 1959: 230)

Hanke goes on to comment that

> a complete list of the events that occurred when the Requirement formalities ordered by King Ferdinand were carried out in America, more or less according to law, might tax the reader's patience and credulity, for the Requirement was read to trees and empty huts when no Indians were to be found. Captains muttered its theological phrases into their beards on the edge of sleeping Indian settlements, or even a league away before starting the formal attack, and at times some leather-lunged Spanish notary hurled its sonorous phrases after the Indians as they fled into the mountains . Once it was read in camp before the soldiers to the beat of the drum. Ship captains would sometimes have the document read from the deck as they approached an island, and at night would send out enslaving expeditions, whose leaders would shout the traditional Castilian war cry 'Santiago!' rather than read the Requirement before they attacked the near-by villages. Sometimes Indian messengers were sent to "require" other Indians.
>
> (1965: 34)

One of the captains in question was a certain Juan de Ayora, who was not disposed towards patience in enacting his legal obligations. One reading by Ayora's platoon is reported by Oviedo in his chronicle in terms which betray the extent of the Indians' predicament:

> paresció que habían seído salteados, e que primero fueron atados que les dijesen ni supiesen que había Papa ni Iglesia, ni cosa de cuantas el Requerimiento decía; e después de estar metidos en cadena, uno les leía aquel Requerimiento, sin lengua o intérprete, sin entender el letor ni los indios; e ya que se lo dijeran con quien entendieran su lengua, estaban sin libertad para responder a lo que se les leía, y al momento tiraban con ellos aprisionados adelante, e no dejando de dar palos a quien poco andaba.[89]
>
> (1959: 237)

Here Oviedo's comments touch on issues of communication specifically; there is no interpreter; there is no understanding by either party of the contents of the document; there is no right of reply. As Hanke concludes:

> Spaniards themselves, when describing this document, have often shared the dilemma of Las Casas, who confessed on reading it he could not decide whether to laugh or to weep. He roundly denounced it on practical as well as theoretical grounds, pointing out the manifest injustice of the whole business. Others found it infinitely ridiculous and even its author, Palacios Rubios,

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[89] This is from Oviedo's *Historia general* which appears in Biblioteca de Autores Españoles vol. CXIX, Book XXIX, chapter IX, p.237 not chapter VII, as reported by Hanke in *The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America* (1965: 185 note 11).

> 'laughed often' when Oviedo recounted his own experiences and instances of how some captains had put the Requirement into practice, though the learned doctor still believed that it satisfied the demands of the Christian conscience when executed in the manner originally intended.
>
> (1965: 35)

So how is the *topos* transposed into the plays? How does it assimilate what, historically, was thoroughly discreditable behaviour shackled to the evangelical ideal? To supply an anwer it is necessary to trace the genesis of the document in some detail in order to assess the reaction of the playwrights to it. It was Columbus initially who had ordered that a legal document be drawn up on the very day of the discovery of the first Caribbean island. Lienhard describes this precursor to the Requerimiento as the 'primera manifestación en América de lo que llamaremos el "fetichismo de la escritura"'; the ad hoc documentation of territorial and spiritual seizure:

> El documento encargado al escribano Rodrigo d'Escobedo parece deber cumplir dos funciones principales: en primer lugar, 'realizar', ideológicamente, una toma de posesión territorial en nombre de los reyes (católicos) y el cristianismo; en segundo lugar, autentificar y atestiguar el papel – metáfora característica de una sociedad grafocéntrica – decisivo que Colón desempeñó en ella. En términos más abstractos, la escritura corresponde a la vez a una práctica político-religiosa (la toma de posesión con vistas a su evangelización) y a otra jurídica o notarial (dar fe de las responsabilidades individuales implicadas).
>
> Acerquémonos primero a la escritura en tanto que práctica político-religiosa. Como se ha podido constatar, la conquista o toma de posesión no se apoya, desde la perspectiva de sus actores, en la superioridad político militar de los europeos, sino el prestigio y la eficacia casi mágica que ellos atribuyen a la escritura [...] A partir de 1513: un texto único, concebido especialmente para este objetivo, 'realizará' las tomas de posesión territorial de los españoles en América: el requerimiento. Resulta legítimo subrayar que las realiza (performa), porque la formulación del documento, autoritaria en un grado sumo, no admite réplica ni diálogo:
>
> > Por ende, como mejor puedo, vos ruego y requiero, que [...] reconozcáis a la Iglesia por Superiora del Universo mundo, y al Sumo Pontífice, llamado papa en su nombre y a su majestad en su lugar, como superior y señor rey de las Islas y Tierrafirme [...] Si no lo hiciéredes [...], certificoos que con el ayuda de Dios yo entraré poderosamente contra vosotros [...], y vos sujetaré a yugo y obediencia de la Iglesia y de su Majestad.

Independientemente del consentimiento de los autóctonos, la conquista se

realiza a través del simple acto de enunciar el texto del requerimiento. Para justificar la manifestación de tamaña autoridad, el documento subraya su genealogía nada menos que divina. Después de dejar sentado que 'Dios nuestro señor Uno y Eterno' encargó el gobierno de toda la humanidad a San Pedro y sus sucesores, los pontífices o papas, prosigue:

> Uno de los pontífices pasados, que he dicho, como Señor del mundo, hizo donación de estas Islas y Tierrafirme del Mar Océano, a los católicos reyes de Castilla que entonces eran D.Fernando y Doña Isabel, de gloriosa memoria, y a sus sucesores nuestros señores, con todo lo que en ellas hay, según se contiene en ciertas escrituras, que sobre ello pasaron ... .
>
> El texto escrito, legitimado a su vez por otras 'escrituras', expresa en última instancia la voluntad divina. Nótese que tal voluntad adquiere un cariz mas político que teológico en la medida en que se privilegia, a expensas del – no mencionado – fundador de la religión universal, Jesucristo, a su discípulo San Pedro: el hombre que instauró, según la tradición católica, el aparato político-administrativo del cristianismo, el papado.
>
> (1992: 26-8)

Lienhard's commentary on the text, quoting fragments of it, follows an understandable pattern of analysis, which tends to eschew citation in full, presumably because of its rambling, repetitive nature. It is not unusual for commentators to summarise the bulk of the text, only resorting to quotation of the final horrifying paragraphs of the document.[90] In the analysis that follows, however, I wish to quote it in full. There are two reasons for this. The first is in order to gauge the content of the document by reference to its proportions; its ratio of exhortation to coercion, of theology to jurisprudence. The second is to juxtapose the historical *Requerimiento* with its dramatised counterparts and so draw conclusions about its representation. The version which follows is taken from Hanke's *La lucha por la justicia en la conquista de América*, which I have divided into the nine sections suggested by Oviedo's chronicle, so as to ease subsequent reference to its contents:

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[90] This is the case with, for example, Fernández Herrero (1994: 212), Berkhofer (1978: 123-4) and Lienhard (see below). Also revealing in this respect is Hanke's treatment of the text of the *Requerimiento* in the Spanish and English editions of his standard work *The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America / La lucha por la justicia.* The Spanish edition (1949) quotes the document in full with minimal commentary, whereas the 1965 English version pares it down to a short quotation from the ending, in favour of an exposition of the iniquities of its historical enactment.

I. De parte de S.M. Don N., Rey de Castilla, etc. Yo, N., su criado, mensajero y capitán, vos notifico y hago saber como mejor puedo que Dios Nuestro Señor, uno y eterno, creó el cielo y la tierra, y un hombre y una mujer, de quien nosotros y vosotros y todos los hombres del mundo fueron y son descendientes procreados y todos los que después de nosotros vinieren; mas por la muchedumbre de generación que de éstos ha procedido desde cinco mil y más años que ha que el mundo fué creado, fué necesario que los unos hombres fuesen por una parte y los otros por otra, y se dividiesen por muchos reinos y provincias, que en una sola no se podían sustentar e conservar.

II. De todas estas gentes Dios Nuestro Señor dió cargo a uno que fué llamado san Pedro, para que de todos los hombres del mundo fuese señor y superior, a quien todos obedeciesen, y fuese cabeza de todo el linaje humano, dondequiera que los hombres viviesen y estuviesen, y en cualquier ley, secta o creencia, y dióle a todo el mundo por su señorío y jurisdicción.

III. Y como quiera que le mandó que pusiese su silla en Roma, como en lugar más aparejado para regir el mundo, mas también le permitió que pudiese estar y poner su silla en cualquier otra parte del mundo y juzgar y gobernar todas las gentes: cristianos, moros, judíos, gentiles y de cualquier otra secta o creencia que fuesen.

IV. A éste llamaron Papa, que quiere decir admirable mayor padre y guardador, porque es padre y gobernador de todos los hombres.

V. A este San Pedro obedecieron, y tuvieron por Rey y superior del universo los que en aquel tiempo vivían; y asimismo han tenido a todos los otros que después de él fueron al Pontificado elegidos; así se ha continuado hasta ahora y se continuará hasta que el mundo se acabe.

VI. Uno de los Pontífices pasados que en lugar de éste sucedió en aquella silla e dignidad que he dicho, como señor del mundo, hizo donación de estas islas y tierra firme del Mar Océano a los Católicos Reyes de España, que entonces eran Don Fernando y Doña Isabel, de gloriosa memoria, y sus sucesores en estos reinos, nuestros señores, con todo lo que en ellos hay, según se contiene en ciertas escrituras que sobre ello pasaron, según dicho es, que podéis ver si quisiereis. Así que que Su Majestad es rey y señor de estas islas y tierra firme por virtud de la dicha donación, y como a tal rey y señor, algunas islas más y casi todas a quien esto ha sido notificado, han recibido a Su Majestad y le obedecido y servido, y sirven, como súbditos lo deben hacer. Y con buena voluntad y sin ninguna resistencia, luego sin ninguna dilación, como fueron informados de lo susodicho, obedecieron y recibieron los varones religiosos que les enviaba para que les predicasen y enseñasen nuestra Fe; y todos ellos, de su libre y agradable voluntad, sin premio ni condición alguna, se tornaron cristianos y lo son; y su Su Majestad los recibió alegre y benignamente, y así los mandó tratar como a los otros súbditos y vasallos: y vosotros sois tenidos y obligados a hacer lo mismo.

VII. Por ende, como mejor puedo, vos ruego y requiero que entendáis bien esto que os he dicho, y toméis para entenderlo y deliberar sobre ello el tiempo

que fuese justo, y reconozcáis a la Iglesia por señora y superiora del universo mundo, y al sumo pontífice llamado Papa en su nombre, y a Su Majestad en su lugar, como superior y señor y Rey de las islas y tierra firme, por virtud de la dicha donación, y consintáis que estos padres religiosos os declaren y prediquen lo susodicho.

VIII. Si así lo hiciereis, haréis bien, y aquello a que sois tenidos y obligados, y Su Majestad, y yo en su nombre, vos recibirán con todo amor y caridad, y vos dejarán vuestras mujeres, e hijos libres sin servidumbre, para que de ellas de vosotros hagáis libremente todo lo que quisiereis e por bien tuviereis; y no vos compelerá a que os tornéis cristianos, salvo si vosotros, informados de la verdad, os quisiereis convertir a la santa fe católica, como lo han hecho casi todos los vecinos de las otras islas, y a más de esto, Su Majestad vos dará muchos privilegios y excepciones, y os hará muchas mercedes.

IX. Si no lo hiziereis, e en ello dilación maliciosamente pusiereis, certifícoos que con la ayuda de Dios yo entraré poderosamente contra vosotros y vos haré guerra por todas las partes y manera que yo pudiere, y os sujetaré al yugo y obediencia de la Iglesia y de Su Majestad, y tomaré vuestras mujeres y hijos y los haré esclavos, y como tales los venderé y dispondré de ellos como Su Majestad mandare, y os tomaré vuestros bienes, y os haré todos los males e daños que pudiere, como a vasallos que no obedecen ni quieren recibir a su señor y le resisten y contradicen; y protesto que las muertes y daños que de ello se recrecieren, sea a vuestra culpa, y no de Su Majestad, ni mía, ni de estos caballeros que conmigo vinieron; y de como os lo digo y requiero, pido al presente escribano que me lo dé por testimonio signado.

(Hanke 1949: 52-4, Oviedo 1959: 227-8)

Given the repeated assertions that this is a theological document, what is striking about the text is the scant attention it pays to spiritual affairs. As Lienhard remarks, Christ is never mentioned. The expression of the Christian *credo* is pared down to a statement of less than 50 words in paragraph I: that God created the Universe, Man and Woman – from whom all are descended. There is perfunctory reference to proselytisation of the Faith in the demand that 'varones religiosos' have already preached the Faith in neighbouring parts (VI), and should be allowed to continue to do so (end of VII), with a view to eventual conversion (VIII) – a total of up to 100 words. However, what surrounds these exhortations is, unequivocally, a legal justification for the secular processes about to be set in motion. This legalism fixes particularly on tracing the Pope's antecedents and thereby justifying the

legitimacy of the papal donation of the New World: an issue which occupies paragraphs II to VI (up to 300 words) before ceding to an adumbration of the technicalities implied by vassal status (about 300 words covering paragraphs VI to VIII). This last segment is, of course, famously reinforced in the menacing final paragraph IX, where the consequences of failing to accept vassal status are grimly outlined (some 150 words).

So although the Requerimiento is indeed a "politico-religious" exercise, the former consideration vastly outweighs the latter, the ratio being 5:1 in its favour (about 750 words to 150). To pursue the arithmetic a little further, it is worth pointing out that the sinister contents of the last paragraph likewise only constitute one fifth of the whole document (150 words), and are themselves only a minority element in the overall exposition of the benefits of subjection to the King (about 350 words from the end of paragraph VI), which is couched in glowing terms.

In turning to the representation of the reading of the document, as performed on stage in the corpus, one notes the significant modifications to its proportions and content become apparent. Although the document is never referred to by name, its most obvious re-enactment occurs in *Las palabras a los reyes* in a lengthy declamation. Its status as "performed" speech is never in doubt, and Vélez dispenses with the reading out of a paper document in prose, but opts instead for verse, placing the scene late in act III. After numerous exchanges between Indians and Spaniards, this is the first encounter between the two leaders, Pizarro and Abataliba. The content of the speech which follows proves to be almost identical to the historical *Requerimiento* in terms of its thematic sequence, but with major cosmetic alterations as regards proportions among its constituent elements. As he meets Atabaliba for the first time Pizarro declares:

Yo soy (oye) don Francisco
Piçarro, heroyca cabeça
de estos Españoles, vengo
por mi rey a hazerte oferta
de su amistad, y a enseñarte
la Ley de Dios verdadera.
Este que es causa de todo,
tres Personas, y vna essencia,
criò los Cielos que miras,
el Sol, la Luna, y estrellas.
Hizo a Adan el primer hombre
en vn jardin de la tierra,
sacando de su costilla
la madre y muger primera
del mundo, de quien los hombres
todos traen su decendencia.
Y auiendolos Dios formado,
a su semejança mesma,
inouedientes a Dios,
por comer en esta huerta,
en que los formò, de vn fruto
que les vedò su grandeza.
Cayeron en su desgracia,
y baxò Dios a la tierra
en humana forma, a ser
el rescate desta ofensa.
Y despues de auer passado
muerte, en quãto hombre, por ella,
glorificado bolvio
a las celestes esferas,
por su teniente dexando,
y cabeça de su Iglesia
a san Pedro, y los demas
sucessores, que oy celebra
Roma, con nombre de Papas;
estos reparten las tierras
infieles a los Christianos
Reyes, que la Fe professan,
y la defienden tambien
para conquistallas, y estas
a repartido a don Carlos
mi Rey, que en Castilla Reyna;
y en su lugar me à embiado
(Inga) para que os prevenga
de parte de Dios, y suya,
que si el bautismo desseas
tomar, y venir con el
por vasallo a su obediencia;
creyendo lo que te é dicho,
que defendera tu tierra,

y te mantendrà en justicia,
como del mundo govierna
otros Reynos, y provincias;
si no, que con guerra fiera
(Inga) conquiste las tuyas,
mira que respondes, que esta
de mi embaxada es la suma,
y la pretension del Cesar?
(Vélez de Guevara n.d.: fol.14V, 15R)

As with the *Requerimiento*, the speech consists of a greeting and self-introduction before the theological resumé, identification of the Pope and his donation of the New World. This is followed by the call to accept vassal status, with a warning of the consequences if refused, ending in a valediction. The most significant omission appears to be any mention of organised evangelisation, which Vélez counters by substantially expanding the spiritual content. He not only mentions the Creation and Adam and Eve in more detail, but adds references to the Fall of Man, the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, Redemption and Resurrection. This theological segment represents 25 lines out of a total of 58 – a huge increase on its historical equivalent, and by far the largest individual section of the speech. References to the Pope and the papal donation remain substantial (11 lines) but much more brisk and proportionately very reduced by comparison to the *Requerimiento* . The attractions of vassal staus are similarly dispatched in just twelve lines, which economy prompts the most summary rendition imaginable of the document's notorious final paragraph - now a mere two lines referring to Indian provinces: 'si no, que con guerra fiera / (Inga) conquiste las tuyas'.

The effect of these adjustments is self-evident. The politico-religious balance is now much more even. The tedium of the papal references is abbreviated, and the final section now exudes benign paternalism – an effect perhaps somewhat closer to the historical intention that Palacios Rubios reportedly intimated to Oviedo! The

context provided by stagecraft is also an important factor in attenuating the harshness of the ultimatum; the wit, pace, romance and poetry of the play invite the sympathy of the audience. For in Vélez's version of events (unlike Oviedo's account) the Indians are neither absent, nor bereft of Spanish, nor merely butchered or enslaved. Indeed, Abataliba replies eloquently to Pizarro's invitation, in terms which make clear that he has grasped its contents, if not its transcendent message of Christian redemption. He tackles the legality of Pizarro's assertions and their theological integrity, but then betrays obtuse adherence to the crucial category error described previously in this chapter, before dismissing Spanish doings generally as sorcery (a familiar allegation):

> Español, yo no conozco
> a tu Rey, todas estas
> tierras a Guascar mi hermano
> se las dexò por herencia
> mi padre, y por mi valor
> se las e quitado a fuerça
> de las armas, de que miras
> coronarme tantas selvas.
> Yo no se como San Pedro
> a tu Rey darselas pueda ...
> En lo que toca, que vn Dios
> vuestro crio el cielo y tierra,
> no se nada, solo se
> que al Sol se deue esta inmensa,
> fabrica del Orbe, y que el
> es quien todo lo alimenta.
> Y si al Pirú aueys venido
> con encantos y quimeras,
> no aueys de salir villanos
> del Pirù con vida, ea
> rayos del Pirú.
>
> (Vélez de Guevara n.d.: fol.15V)

Vélez's representation of the Indians' response to the *Requerimiento* is thus represented as a failure of verbal reasoning on their part. It is a reaffirmation of idolatry which can be met with only one response. Battle is engaged on stage as a climax to the dramatic debate, the Indians are defeated, and in the next scene the audience is transported back to the metropolitan centre as Peru is handed over to the

emperor, Charles V.

In his treatment Vélez successfully exploits audience awareness of the reading of the *Requerimiento* as a historical event. His appropriation of the format of the document, his close approximation to its contents, together with his technical manipulation of the nature of the first encounter (here restrictively defined as occurring between the two leaders) are too similar to historical practice to be a coincidence. And as I argue in quoting Hanke, there existed direct evidence of concern (at the very least) in Spain at the actual implementation of the *Requerimiento* if not its inspiration. Hanke also points out that its use endured beyond the confines of the Indies and is known to have formed part of identical processes of annexation in the Philippines during the second half of the sixteenth century – thus overlapping the rise of the *comedia.* In this respect the *Requerimiento* was not a relic of the past but a contemporary phenomenon. Vélez could thus presume that some (possibly the more educated) members of his audience would recognise his set-piece as a poeticised *Requerimiento*, here stylised as a reasonable and just attempt to allow the Indians the opportunity to accept baptism and the benevolent tutelage of the Spanish Empire. In this respect it coincides with other manifestations of the altruism and piety (already witnessed) in which the stage-Conquistadors are so carefully robed. In other words it is a rhetorical posture adopted for the purposes of the drama. The rejection by the stage-Indians of its undoubted attractions brings calamity upon them, and justifies the actions of the Conquistador. It is one of many such ruses to shift the onus for the bloodshed in the plays onto the Indian side, but in this instance fulfills a particularly vital function in establishing a legal, as well as a moral, sanction for the Conquest.

The example quoted above is, however, the only one in the corpus which makes an unequivocal effort to re-enact the historical performance *per se* of the

Requerimiento in a way that its formal existence as a political, legal, religious document might impinge as such on the consciousness of the audience. In what follows I examine how this sanction is pursued in other plays where the *Requerimiento*'s influence is unquestionable but elusive. And I shall argue that it is subsumed into the rhetoric of theatrical relationships so as to establish a kind of protocol of "politeness" as defined by McKendrick. I show how a play of conquest, *La conquista de México*, is careful to accord to the Indians the kind of politico-religious caution that the *Requerimiento* was meant to represent – as an essential precursor to the use of military force. My aim here is to contrast the means by which this protocol/politeness is pursued in this play before comparing it with the way it is inverted corrosively by Lope in *El Nuevo Mundo.*

In *La conquista de México* the staging of a specific re-enactment of a reading-the-*Requerimiento* scene is omitted in favour of two main segments covering the same ground, and mingled with easily recognisable mythic gestures. These are allocated separately to the most propitious moment in the plotline.

Cortés greets a party of Indians early in act I of the play, and immediately speaks to them using the evangelical tone intended as an echo of the *Requerimiento*, but completely omitting any reference to the status of the Pope or his donation. Nor, at this point, is there any mention of its secular, military aspect:

Cortés: Hijos, nadie se ausente;
hombre soy, no os cause espanto,
español soy, soy cristiano,
criado de Carlos soy,
de amigo la mano os doy,
bajad y tomad la mano.
Cayaguán: Bajemos, Solmo
Solmo: Bajemos
Cortés: No temáis, dadme los brazos
con animosos abrazos.

Bajen, y vanle abrazando, y a los soldados.

Cortés: Paz buscamos, paz queremos.
Tomad, tomad, que os envía
(*Dales unos vidrios y cuentas*)
España. Carlos su Rey,
sigue de Cristo la Ley.
Cristo es Hijo de María,
es la persona segunda
de la Trinidad que es Dios
y tres personas. En dos
preceptos su Ley se funda:
amarle de corazón
y al prójimo como a sí.
Pero el primer hombre aquí
os dé Dios luz de razón.
Humanóse Dios, murió
por el hombre en esta Cruz;
ésta es la bandera y luz
que al hombre del mal sacó
en que le puso el pecado.
Adoradla.

Fonseca: Ya se entienden

Cortés: Esta[s] señales defienden
el hombre dellas armado,
agua de Espíritu Santo,
que de las personas tres,
y en Dios, la tercera es,
hijos, os importa tanto
que sin ella no hay entrar
en el Cielo; esta es la Madre
de Cristo, el Verbo del Padre,
que acabo de contar.
Adoradla.

(Zárate 1993: 221-2)

Here we are left with only the greeting, self-identification, and theological resumé, but in terms which are highly reminiscent of the Vélez exercise. The author's abbreviation is to link Christ directly with the Emperor and the Law. Interpolated into his discourse is the physical presentation of the Cross on stage for the Indians to worship. This gesture decidedly marks this ritual as spiritual in nature. This is an important consideration in what is a militaristic play of conquest as Cortés is depicted as a missionary of peace. Its importance lies in its function as a precursor to bloody events which are to overtake Cortés, and force his hand in a display of ruthless justice

– the object being to justify these actions. Thus, in his first encounter with Motezuma (which occurs at the climax of act III) Cortés attempts to embrace Motezuma but is rebuffed. But now war-hardened after many vicissitudes, Cortés is irate at having discovered Motezuma's plot to murder him:

> Motezuma: (*Sale*) Cristiano,
> ¿cómo te va en mi tierra?
> Cortés: ... Yo quería
> darte este nombre, Emperador supremo,
> y que reconocieses al Rey Carlos;
> hame pesado que estuvieses fuerte
> en no admitir esta embajada mía,
> pues no te traigo en ello menos gloria,
> que es hallar con tu alma tanto mundo
> como tienes debajo de tu mano;
> daros leyes políticas y justas,
> sacandoos del engaño en que os ha puesto
> el demonio que os tiene por esclavos
> (1993: 255)

In other words, the requirement that Motezuma submit as a vassal of Charles V is now, and only now, articulated verbally. This is because a new context of treachery has been created, and a justification for the approaching pitched battle against the Indians is established.[91] Cortés now takes the opportunity to make clear the objective of his embassy:

> No es tiempo de disculpas, Motezuma,
> dese preso por el Rey de España.
> Motezuma: ¡Cielos!
> ¿a mí me prenden en mi propia tierra?
> .....
> Cortés, yo te daré tanto rescate,
> que no puedan llevar naves el oro
> y lo dejes sembrado en las orillas.

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[91] Most implausibly, the author chooses to seal Motezuma's guilt via the completely graphocentric device of written evidence. Cortés accuses Motezuma of engineering several assassination attempts by his chieftains via the writing of letters: 'Ves aquí cartas tuyas, / no lo niegues' says Cortés. The terrified Indian's reply compounds this: 'Miente cualquier cacique que te ha dado / esas cartas y firmas contrahechas' (Zárate 1993: 255). These are the same caciques – fraudulent signatories now - who earlier in the act were discussing an incriminating message in terms of a paper with *lengua y voz*, whose power consisted of *hechicerías*. It is difficult to imagine that this gaffe would have slipped by even during the era. As Ruiz Ramón drily remarks in a footnote to the incident 'no teniendo escritura ortográfica, difícilmente podía escribir cartas o firmar' (1993: 255 note 135) - a point the playwright himself has repeatedly made.

Alvarado: ¡Hay tal atrevimiento!
Fonseca: ¡Dios le ayuda!
Motezuma: Cortés, yo quiero ser cristiano luego
y de Carlos, tu Rey, seré vasallo;
(1993: 255-6)

If the *Requerimiento* in *Las palabras* is conceived as a climactic set-piece, complete with bloody aftermath, the same *topos* in the Cortés play is much more circumspectly drawn – camouflaged by its divison into separate scenes - with the hero permitted an early moment of evangelism before being forced to implement his will by force of arms, and almost as a last resort: one notes the pious exclamations of disgust at the suggestion of accepting a ransom! As a dramatic protocol, therefore, the element of the *Requerimiento* discernible in the play, is not its actual format, but its rhetorical position.

What are the implications of this theatrical politeness? McKendrick argues that the concept is routinely exploited by Lope to interrogate the certainties of the prevailing order. In *Playing the King: Lope de Vega and the Limits of Conformity* McKendrick examines Lope's fascination with the gap between the ideal of kingship and its all-too-human frailties, effectively dismantling the Maravall/Díez Borque view of the *comedia* itself as a platform for conformism, and redefines it as giving vent to the political anxieties of the Golden Age: 'an agent of the social process and not merely a recorder' (2000: 14). Linking persuasively to Lope's method, she documents the political treatises of the time which rail against absolutism, personality cult, and the quasi-divinisation of the monarch, and express the profound misgivings felt at the corruption and favouritism which so tainted the reigns of Philip III and Philip IV.

The study offers tantalising possibilities for works of interest in the present study which are certainly political, but not monarchical in theme, such as *Arauco*

domado and *El Nuevo Mundo.* In the fifth chapter '*Decir sin decir*: Patterns of Communication', the application of functional linguistics to literary texts allows Lope to emerge as a master of doublespeak, compulsively engaging the most sensitive political issues of his day from behind a cloak of pseudo-history. He protects himself and his medium from charges of sedition by his manipulation of court politeness, traducing the rhetoric employed before princes, to famously ambiguous effect. McKendrick explains the mechanism by which this risqué procedure can be undertaken:

> Some of the basic insights of pragmatics are extremely helpful in an attempt to get a grip on the less than a straightforward way Lope's plays make their political points. If a speech-act is generally understood as an utterance in a given a situation or context, whose meaning is determined, or largely determined, by that situation or context, then it is possible to see not only dramatic dialogue as constituting a succession of speech acts, but to see an entire play, too, as an utterance within a given context, with the meaning(s) extracted from the play depending on the situation in which it is performed - the particular theatrical tradition, social conditions, political issues, national ethos and aspirations. The structuralist of view of linguistic utterance as having both and intersubjective reality for the subjects experiencing it and a social and historical identity shared by the individuals who make up the speech community lends itself to the same perception. A play overflows its text and communicates with its audience in a variety of extra-textual ways, some identifiable, some probably not. Successful speech acts depend on shared assumptions, understood conventions and accepted procedures - true of the linguistic texture of the dialogue and of the dramatic form of the comedia itself. It follows that utterances can be understood in different ways in different situations. A statement within the situation of the play's world can be understood differently within the situation of the world of the theatre public, and in two ways. Firstly, the theatre public will bring to the utterance the context, and its relevancies, of its own time, and extrapolate from the text and non-textual reality. Secondly, it will also bring to the utterance its superior knowledge of the play's action and will accordingly understand it differently, that is, the way intended by the author but denied the character him or herself. Within the play itself, of course, as happens all the time in everyday life, characters will make utterances which it in context will be "correctly" received rather than taken at face value by the recipients of the utterances, because they will be in possession of the facts which belie the words. In some circumstances it can be irrelevant whether the recipient correctly understands or not, since the utterance may be intended to be taken as a perlocutionary rather than an illocutionary act, that is, the speaker can appear to be invoking the meaning that arises from the words that are actually said and not from the words in context. It is their perlocutionary identity that

protects the speaker from the consequences of possible, contextual meanings - which is exactly the process at work when Lope resorts to the ritualized rhetoric of kingship in a play which is highly critical of monarchical behaviour ... In other words, as in an exchange of utterance between two speakers, communication is fully achieved only through the tacit recognition on both sides of all the determinants, internal and external to the play, which identify the meaning intended - events, personalities, hidden feelings and motives, ironies, allusions, imagery, and so on.

(2000: 113-5)

McKendrick's ideas allows us to interrogate Lope's authorial posture at the climactic moment of *El Nuevo Mundo* by way of its contrast with parallel scenes just examined in *Las palabras* and *La conquista de México*, which - I have argued - fulfill a rhetorical function implicit in the process of self-justification. Given the dating of *El Nuevo Mundo* to the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the audience certainly lived contemporaneously with the reputation and actual use of the *Requerimiento*. But how far the audience would have brought to all these the plays 'the context, and its relevancies, of its own time', and been able to 'extrapolate from the text and non-textual reality' is obviously a matter for conjecture. Lope does, however, provide us with a series of unequivocal gestures which allow us to filter dramatic utterances via context. In *El Nuevo Mundo*, we immediately perceive a distorsion of the protocol which demands that the invading Spanish forces evangelise the Indians as a complement to the protection they offer on behalf of the Spanish Crown. Supported only by the saintly Fray Buyl, Columbus's first encounter with the natives descends into farce as he is repeatedly thwarted in his rhetorical duty by his own rebellious and disrespectful crew. Having already pursued the local women, neither can they conceal their lust for gold, much to the chagrin of the Admiral:

Colón:	Pues ¿de qué es el regocijo?
Arana:	Del oro que hallando vas.
Colón:	La salvación desta gente
	es mi principal tesoro.
Terrazas:	Que bien busquemos el oro,
	que eso es largo, aunque es decente.

Ve amigo (*to an Indian*), y trae de esto alguno.
Arana: Ya va
Pinzón: No te pese de esto.
Colón: De que lo pidas tan presto
me pesa.
Pinzón: ¿A quién importuno?
¿Es algún ser ingrato?
¿Es algun acreedor?
¿No le dio el cielo mejor,
pues se lo dio tan barato?
¿Este oro es adquerido
cosiendo, arando, escribiendo,
o que lo han visto naciendo
y sin sembrallo cogido?

Un indio con barras.

Ya trae, pese a mi mal.
Colón: Tomad con menos codicia.
Pinzón: Esto es nuestro de justicia,
y a nuestro trabajo igual.
Arana: Bien haya cuanto pasé.
Terrazas: Bien haya cuanto sufrí.
Fray Buyl: Qué ¿besas las barras?
Terrazas: Sí,
mientras les dices la fe.
(Vega 1980: 29)

This scene is as much about Columbus's message frustrated as it is about the affirmation of the insidious nature of the sarcastic soldier Terrazas. It is he who is to emerge as the catalyst for the catastrophe which befalls both Spaniards and Indians in act III of the play. A detailed reading is apposite here in terms of the discrimination of meaning intended by the author and denied his characters, the "correct" or face-value reception of utterances on their part, and the possession of facts which belie words.

Terrazas soon ensnares the amorous Tacuana. But the deceit he employs in seduction is reciprocated by the object of his desire. She relates the history of her kidnapping from her true husband in neighbouring Haiti and her captivity at the hands of the local chieftain Dulcanquellín. She tells Terrazas of her husband's plan to

rescue her, while admitting to the audience in an aside that she has invented it;

> Basta que aqueste español
> no es dios, pues no conoce
> el pensamiento que traigo,
> perdida por sus amores;
> que con aquesta invención,
> fingiendo tales razones,
> vengo a sus brazos rendida
> porque así me lleve y robe.
> El piensa que me hace fuerza
> (1980: 34)

Unaware of this ruse to collude in her own seduction, Terrazas's expresses carnal designs of his own, which he of course denies:

> Tacuana: ¿Harásme fuerza?
> Terrazas: Ninguna.
> Tacuana: Dame la mano.
> Terrazas: Perdone
> esta vez el juramento,
> que el amor todos los rompe.
> (1980: 34)

Both parties are, therefore, equally equally dishonest and lustful. They depart to their tryst, but Terrazas subsequently reveals the details of the supposed rescue plot to Dulcanquellín, who is enraged, and begs permission to give pursuit. Having in reality esconced the woman in a cave, Terrazas, with consummate hypocrisy, promises to recapture the woman whose favours he has secretly just enjoyed. He persuades Dulcanquellín to stay, as his proposed course of action would mean missing tomorrow's mass! In an unequivocal signal from the author to the audience of the transcendent moral imperative, Lope has Terrazas pronounce sententiously on the kind of example required to be set by kings - that the actions of those in authority are constrained by those for whom they are responsible:

> Gran yerro vienes a hacer,
> porque es mañana la misa
> que ha de decir nuestro padre;
> que no hay discupa que cuadre
> a la culpa que te avisa
> que siendo rey y mayor

darás, faltando del templo,
ocasión de mal ejemplo
y escándalo de tu error.
Allá en España, decimos
que son los reyes espejo
donde se mira el consejo
que los vasallos seguimos.
No faltes, que enojarás
a Bartolomé Colón,
y al cielo en esta ocasión
ofensa notable harás.
Y sabiendo el rey de España
que no acudís a la fe,
deshará cuanto se ve
que el mar de Occidente baña.
(1980: 36-7)

Terrazas once more gives his word, in the strongest terms (echoing the oath of Castillo in *Los guanches de Tenerife*) to a credulous Indian:

Y mi palabra te doy
que la misa celebrada,
con mi rayo y con mi espada
te ayude a fe de quien soy.[92]
Dulcanquellín: ¿Que la palabra me das
de cobrar mi esposa?
Terrazas: Digo
que la traeré.
(1980: 37)

Terrazas thus compounds his duplicity in his actions regarding Tacuana and (twice foresworn) repeatedly makes explicit to the audience his status as an unconscionable liar. Having carefully prepared his territory Lope now delivers a brilliant *coup de grâce*: he allocates to Terrazas the rhetorical onus of explaining the mysteries of the Faith:

Terrazas: ¿Quieres que en breve te declare y muestre
quién son tus dioses y quién es el nuestro,
así en grosero modo, porque entiendas
de su naturaleza alguna cosa,
cuanto le puede percibir un bárbaro?
Dulcanquellín; No deseo otra cosa.

---

[92] Lemartinel and Minguet point out in an endnote to this page that this phrase is a binding oath (Vega 1980: 65 note 1).

Terrazas:

Dios te inspire
entendimiento, y luz su luz te envíe.
Un Dios, aunque tres personas,
Padre increado, el mismo siempre,
Hijo engendrado del padre
y espíritu procediente,
cuando crió los dos mundos,
aquel descubierto y éste,
crió nueve coros altos
de espíritus excelentes.
Era destos el mayor
tan perfecto, hermoso y fuerte,
que se aventajaba a todos,
como al mirto los cipreses.
Asistían a su rostro,
como ante el príncipe suelen
el privado y los vasallos
con los oficios que ejercen.
Tratando, pues, su Hacedor
con ellos de su alta mente
casos futuros del Hijo,
que hombre humano vino a hacerse,
Luzbel, que así se llamaba,
envidioso de que hubiese
hombre á (sic) quien él adorase,
contra el mismo Dios se vuelve.
Junta su parcialidad
de los muchos que pervierte.
por no obedecer a Cristo,
que hombre y Dios más que ángel fuese.
Alzan bandas soberbios,
porque ninguno subiese
de naturaleza a gracia
por medio de Cristo: y vienen
armados de su osadía
sobre los campos alegres
del sol con guerras civiles
rebelados y rebeldes.
Los buenos toman la empresa
defendiendo fuertemente
la exaltación de los hombres,
y al Dios y Cristo obedecen.
¡Quién como Dios!, dicen éstos,
y con espadas ardientes
de la divina justicia.
hasta el infierno los meten.
Aquí cayó Lucifer,
como Esaías refiere;
que amaneció la mañana
adonde siempre anochece.

En su corazón decía:
'Yo pasaré de los ejes
del cielo y de sus estrellas,
para que a Dios igual quede.
Sentaréme sobre el monte
del testamento, en la frente
del aquilón, excediendo
las nubes que resplandecen'.
Este rebelde a su Dios,
desde entonces odio tiene
a los hombres, y procura
ser dios engañosamente.
Y así, como entre vosotros
más ocasión se le ofrece,
os habla, os dice que es dios
y os engaña cuanto puede.
Métese en estas estatuas
y por los casos presentes
los futuros conjetura,
y con este ardid os vence,
fuera de que él es muy sabio,
que Ezequiel así lo siente
cuando le llama querub
que ciencia grande contiene.
Pues condoliéndose Cristo
de que entre vosotros reine,
que le costasteis su sangre
en la cruz, muerta la muerte,
al rey Fernando de España,
cristianísimo y prudente,
manda que a Colón envíe,
éste que a su fe os convierte.
Mirad ahora quién son
los ídolos que prefiere
el vulgo ignorante a Cristo
que cielo y tierra obedecen;
que este Cristo, porque el hombre
a Dios ofendió de aleve,
bajó a morir, y salvarle,
de una virgen, virgen siempre.
Resucito, y fuese al cielo,
y porque el hombre tuviese
al mismo que le amó tanto,
debajo de aquella especie
de pan y vino quedóse,
bajando todas las veces
que se dice aquella misa
que sus palabras refiere.

(1980: 39-40)

A faint echo of the text *Requerimiento* is audible in this long set-piece, but only just - a mere four lines (my italics) in a speech of over 100 lines are assigned to an explanation of the Spanish presence and purpose. Its rhetorical location in the action, however, remains intact. Its position in the action (prior to the final battle) is the same as in *Las palabras* and *La conquista de México* – but this time horrifically inverted, as a precursor to the bloody slaughter of Christians, rather than Indians. The declamatory and uninterrupted nature of the speech has sufficient dramatic impetus to sustain its message uncorrupted, despite its messenger. Lope reassigns its religious content to a description, not of Salvation, but of the Fall of the Angels. The treatise deals overwhelmingly (70 out of 105 lines) with Lucifer's rebellion and his mission against mankind. So Lope has expertly usurped the rhetorical opportunity afforded by the exhortation towards evangelisation/annexation to introduce its very antithesis: a stinging attack upon hypocrisy and vice. Terrazas is a Christian who stands for everything that is dishonourable about the Conquest: his mendacity, false friendship, and lust for gold or women know no bounds. His corruption as an individual now provides a platform for Terrazas's conduct to be ascribed to the entire Christian evangelical effort by Lucifer himself, who is now ushered onstage to accost Dulcanquellín:

Entre en hábito de indio el Demonio, téngale
.....
¡Oh, qué gracioso que estás
con esta amistad fingida!
Estos, codiciando oro
de tus Indias, se hacen santos,
fingen cristiano decoro
mientras viene otros tantos
que lleven todo el tesoro;
que ya el otro llega a España
(1980: 41)

These standard accusations against the Spaniards are given immense force at this point in the plot by what has gone before. The Devil now reveals Terrazas's duplicity in abducting Tacuana; 'y está con ella acostado' he gloats, adding suggestively, in an irresitible *non-sequitur*, 'Ved si es buena la fe nueva' (1980: 41). Utterly persuaded by the Devil, Dulcanquellín (hitherto susceptible to the Faith) now renounces it, but in terms which reject not its tenets but, crucially, its proselytizers:

> ¡Oh gente vil, inhumana,
> fieras de piedad desnudas,
> con pieles de ley cristiana!
> ¡Oh españoles, oh traidores!
> ¡Armas, gentes! ¡Indio, al arma!
> (1980: 41)

Carnage of the Christians now ensues with Dulcanquellín's exclamation '¡A ellos, / que no son lo que publican!'. As the distraught Indian chief personally kills Terrazas on stage with a mace, he intones the Devil's mantra: 'Con falsa relación y falsos dioses / nos venís a robar oro y mujeres' (1980: 42).

Lope is now astute enough to cover his tracks by means of conventional reassurance: as the battle commences, a pagan temple collapses and the Devil declares his defeat. Immediately the slaughter is over, a planted Cross grows miraculous leaves and all the rebellious Indians convert to the Faith at the orders of the repentant Dulcanquellín. The action now swiftly closes at the court of the Catholic Monarchs where Columbus presents transported Indians for baptism, along with *barras de oro* (1980: 43) – a sly Lopeian touch - and is fêted as the discoverer of a New World. By miraculously salvaging the transmission of the Christian message at its nadir, and by his lionsation of Columbus, Ferdinand and Isabella, Lope is thus able to extricate himself from any suspicion of subversion. But by assigning the most important theological set-piece to a corrupt figure, and by skewing its content in favour of a description of Lucifer's Fall and the ensuing corruption of Man, Lope is

able to point unerringly at Spanish shortcomings and cast an extra-textual pall over the triumphalist flourish which closes the play. In this he leaves his own political hallmark, and the Terrazas-Dulcanquellín scenes remain as one of the earliest, and certainly most searing, indictments of the Spanish presence to be found anywhere in the New World corpus.

* * *

In Part Two of this chapter I have been discussing how the monolithic nature of the adherence to writing - its fetishisation – requires by definition that the Indians in the corpus operate within the same continuum. In Spanish terms, this relegates orality to a poor second behind the written word. In the portrayal of the Indians, therefore, native orality (the primordial means of transmission of their genealogies and the poeticisation of historical reality) is assigned to primitivism. In so far as there is an acknowledgement of Indian oral tradition (virtually none), it is exposed as satanic in origin. Spoken native language is dramatised in the plays, on the crudest level, as the utterance of gibberish. And even when they have acquired the Christian tongue, the Indians flail wildly at concepts beyond their grasp. The posture which depicts them marvelling with incomprehension at the *hechicerías* of written script is a direct counterpart of the recurrent topic that shows them being no more able recognise a ship in sail, for example, than to assimilate the mystery of the Holy Trinity. This manifests itself as they begin to engage the complexities of metropolitan belief systems, bandy legalisms with their Spanish superiors, traduce the Scriptures (under the influence of their own diabolism) or strain affectingly at alien concepts such as "the soul". As they resist the Spaniards, debate with them, are subjugated by them,

convert to the Faith, and attempt to assimilate with them, the conceptual difficulties they experience with European phenomena lead them inevitably into error. The opportunity for them to correct this is supplied by an idealised depiction of the *Requerimiento*: the legal, written Spanish prescription for the imposition of its own rule, and the formula for closure in the New World drama. Closure, in this respect, is signalled prior to the *desenlace* in terms of the Law, the Papal Donation of the New World, and the Bible. Evangelisation and annexation are thus sanctioned by written precedent (performed orally on stage) for the benefit of Indians who are now shown as fully recognisising the import of the Spanish text. It is this notion of benign paternalism which is so trenchantly inverted by Lope in *El Nuevo Mundo* via the manipulation of rhetorical "politeness". Terrazas's "anti-*Requerimiento*" works brilliantly to counter the play's subsequent triumphalism, while leaving the moral ideal of hegemony undisturbed. While loyally affirming Spain's presence in the New World, no other author interrogates its corruption so discreetly.

Chapter Four: Horror and Humour

In an age of sometimes brutal spectacle, both simulated in pageants, or real in the *corrida* or public executions, it is no surprise that violence found its counterpart in the drama. The parade of the *Comendador*'s severed head on a pole in *Fuenteovejuna*, or the *tableau* of doña Mencía drained of blood in *El médico de su honra* by Calderón, are just two of the most well-known examples of the penchant for shocking effects on the Golden Age stage. Like its counterparts in England and France, the *comedia* treats the politics of princes and states, as well as the private vengeance of jealous lovers, with enthusiastic combinations of conflict, murder and gore. The dramatic advantages of these theatrical tropes go back to Aristotelian and Senecan theories of the cathartic effects of horror, and the power it wields in peeling away the the thin veneer that civilisation or religion have constrained upon human behaviour, so that an atavistic, even bestial, *id* can be confronted by the spectator in the theatre. The implications of this are particularly acute when a clash of civilisations is the subject in hand, and, as in the New World plays of conquest, racial conflict is very often the stuff of the *comedia.* A society defines its own values as much by what it excludes, as by what in includes. In the case of extreme violence – where the same propensity is shared by both sides – the context therefore assumes a decisive role in condoning or rejecting the savagery of the contending sides: a factor immediately recognisable in plays set in the Old World.

The few Indians that are represented in the corpus are of course vastly outnumbered by stage-Jews and stage-Moors of the *comedia* (Case 1993: 18), whose

encounters with Christians prompt much dramatised bloodletting and ferocious language.[93] In *Las paces de los reyes y judía de Toledo* by Lope de Vega, for example, the eponymous Raquel and all of her retinue (including servants and gardeners) are put to the sword on stage at the instigation of the Spanish Queen, because of the threat to herself and the Christian state which is posed by the Jewess's dalliance with the negligent King Alfonso. Another play, *El bastardo Mudarra*, Lope's reworking of the legend of the *Siete infantes de Lara*, exposes the envy and feuding of the Christians amidst their permanent war-footing against the Moors. This establishes the ground for a culture of vengeance and bloodthirstiness whose principal instigators are women glorying in the sadism of the play's action. There are even under tones of cannibalism in the play, but confined to a horrifying conceit, when at one point, doña Lambra, driven mad by the lust for vengeance screams:

> que por la sangre real
> debiera tenerme en algo
> cuando entre mis dientes tenga
> .....
> aquel corazón cruel;
> que no he de tener sosiego
> hasta comerle a bocados
> que bien se que irán asados
> pues que la venganza es fuego
> (Vega 1950a: 174)

Christian society is castigated even more than its Moorish equivalent in this play until the orgy of violence is drawn to a close in the the character of a hero (half-Christian, half-Moor) who is capable of reasserting some semblance of civil order. Where power encounters a vacuum, civilised constraints disappear with astonishing speed - no race seeming exempt from the reversion to savagery.

The capacity of the *comedia* to engage such topics was not just due to its

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[93] Much of the material for the discussion of horror in the Renaissance theatre derives from ideas put forward by Peter W. Evans in unpublished papers given when teaching for the M.A. course at the University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1980-82, when I was his student.

classical inheritance, but very much part also of a natural evolution from its own religious forbears in drama, which had already developed a strong logistical tradition of onstage violence. Early mystery plays in the Levant resorted to extraordinarily elaborate and painstaking special effects in order to meet the public fascination for gore. Shergold reports on the particularly violent *Consueta del rey Asuero*, which depicts the martyrdom of two saints at first beaten with staves, whose assailants are then killed by seals emerging from a river, into which the two martyrs are thrown with millstones round their necks. They do not sink and so are boiled in lead in a huge pot, before being beheaded - with masks for heads; a popular trick effect (1967: 63-4). Shergold then supplies an even more gruesome example:

> these execution scenes are not the only ones which gratified a taste for horror and the sadistic, for in the *Consueta de Santa Agata* the actors playing the part of the soldiers are required to simulate the cutting off of the saint's breasts, with, so the rubric says, 'the greatest possible cruelty'. In the *Passiò de Sant Jordi* the saint is tortured on the wheel, and later tied to a post and whipped, and at the end of the play the "beheading" trick is used, and his head is exhibited to the people. In the St Christopher play the saint is made to sit on a grid painted red to show that it is red hot, and a helmet, also painted red for the same purpose, is placed upon his head.
>
> (1967: 64)

By comparison, Shergold's description of a *tableau* required in *El bastardo Mudarra* seems almost restrained: 'a curtain is drawn back to reveal the 'inuencion'of the severed heads (of the Infantes) on a table. This seems to have been a stock effect for the stage-direction calls it 'customary': '*Descubrense en vna mesa las siete cabeças, con la inuencion que se suele, en siete partes*' (Shergold 1967: 220). Nor is the gruesome *pièce de résistance* of the New World corpus, the impalement of Caupolicán, without its counterparts in the *comedia* at large: at the climax of *Lo fingido verdadero* by Lope, the Christian renegade, Ginés, is also impaled on a stake by the Romans. In fact, it seems that bloodshed in the *comedia* even takes on the random quality of *cliché* with "blood" literally flung about. The same enraged doña

Lambra in *El bastardo Mudarra*, bent on vendetta, gives the order that a cucumber (*cohombro*) full of blood be smashed in the face of her enemy (Vega 1950a: 174). Frequently, participants in battle scenes would make use of *alcancías*, light clay pots containing a red liquid, which when thrown at combatants cause them to "bleed". This effect is known to have been used in Lope's *Las almenas de Toro* (Shergold 1967: 219) and is employed by the Indians in a mock-battle onstage in *Arauco domado*: '*Disparen los arcabuces de arriba y los de abajo acometan tirándoles flechazos y alcancías*' (Vega 1993: 91).

In sum, the employment of classical precepts of horror, with mutilations, severed heads, and shock-discoveries was commonplace in the *comedia*, and the lurid language accompanying violence were familiar fodder for the audience. This is the case for the English drama of the same era (though with varying degrees of emphasis and atrocity among the dramatists). Quoting Horatio's comments from the dénouement of *Hamlet*, one commentator has linked the Jacobean revenge tragedy to the modern thriller: [94]

> 'Carnal, bloody and unnatural acts' well describes a whole sub-group of thrillers in which rapid and violent action seems to exist for its own sake. 'Casual slaughters' aptly summarizes the attitude to murder and mayhem which many modern thrillers share with the revenge play [...]
>
> Contemporary theatre property-lists and other evidence outside of the plays themselves indicate that considerable ingenuity and technical expertise were expended in the staging of such scenes as the cutting off of Alonzo's finger by de Flores in *The Changeling*. And the popularity of such Grand Guignol effects is attested by the fact that they occur in practically all the tragedies of the time, including the very greatest, *Hamlet* and *King Lear*. Jacobean dramatists and their audiences, used to the bearpit as well as the theatre, were no more squeamish about the details of violence ('deaths put on

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[94] The full quotation from *Hamlet* reads:

> ... So shall you hear
> Of carnal, bloody and unnatural acts,
> Of accidental judgements, casual slaughters,
> Of deaths put on by cunning and forced cause,
> And, in this upshot, purposes mistook
> Fall'n on the inventor's heads.
>
> (Quoted by Salgādo 1969: 11)

by cunning cause') than modern thriller writers and their readers.
(Salgādo 1969: 12-13)

Before proceeding to a discussion of this kind of material in the New World plays, therefore, it is important to stress that when the inspiration towards ultra-violence manifests itself, this in itself does not constitute an aberration within the medium; indeed violent behaviour is the stock-in-trade of the *comedia*.

* * *

As in the *comedia* at large, so in the corpus. The subject-matter of the New World plays provides obvious opportunities for the liberal use of stage-gore. Special costume effects are exploited to the full in the context of violence - often conjured, or reinforced by the text. The stage-Indians' associations with the European Wild Man; their crude weaponry (bows, arrows, clubs); their manipulation by Satan; and a general reputation for unbridled savagery - all allow playwrights extensive licence to deploy murder and mayhem as a routine trope. [95]

Heightened language, combined with shocking stunts, are thus the authors' stock-in-trade. The dashing of Fresia's baby on the rocks in *Arauco domado* has already been referred to in this context. The same incident in *Algunas hazañas*, however, though less visually shocking ('*Arroja al niño adentro*'), compensates by its insistence on the verbal reaction to the horror, as the on-stage audience thus signals to the spectator in the *patio* the appropriate posture of horror and disbelief:

Guacolda: ¡Qué rigor!
Reinoso: ¡Crueldad extraña!

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[95] There is also evidence, from one stage-direction in particular, that certains events depicted on stage were already familiar to the public from iconography: in *Algunas hazañas*, the native woman Gualeva, rushes across a river and onto the stage to warn the Spaniards of Indian plans to ambush them: '*Salga Gualeva mojada y con sangre en la frente, del modo que la han pintado*' (Ruiz de Alarcón 1946: 499).

Rengo: Sangrienta aurora la esmeralda baña
Del yerto campo frío
Que de su sangre alimentó el rocío
Caupolicán: ¡Ay hijo!
Reinoso: Eternas señas
Jaspes matizan las nevadas peñas
(Ruiz de Alarcón 1946: 505)

Elsewhere, much of the context for Indian violence is, as we have seen, demonic in inspiration. The idolatry of the Indians and their associations with barbaric practices once again provide a rich vein of verbal excess – readily exploited by playwrights, anxious to thrill their audience with exaggerations of off-stage horror and bloody hyperbole. The calls for sacrifice to pagan gods seem to compete to be ever more lurid: the troubled chieftains in the *Coloquio de los cuatro reyes de Tlaxcala*, for example, repeatedly wonder whether they can appease their demon-god Hongol with the sacrifice of two virgins (Gutiérrez de Luna 1976: 189,191,192). Indian women in *El nuevo rey Gallinato* casually report the sacrifice of ten Indian men by their own people (Claramonte 1983: 216). Idolatría boasts to Religión, in *La conquista de México*, that she will claim 500 Spanish lives in sacrifice and others will be eaten alive by Motezuma's forces (Zárate 1993: 228). In the same play, there is also the cumulative effect of a body count inflated to infinity, as Motezuma himself promises a thousand victims to his idol, who in turn demands: 'sacrifica más hombres a mi altar'. To this request Motezuma complies: 'Hoy me verás tan franco / que perderás el número a los hombres' (1993: 245). On occasion, playwrights' treatment of the detail of the carnage has undertones which are unashamedly titillating. The *loa* to *El divino Narciso* requires no fewer than two thousand victims be disembowelled of 'ya las entrañas que pulsan, / ya el corazón que palpita' (Cruz 1960: 4).

Related to their idolatry, the act of murder onstage by the Indians is commonplace. For example, in *El gobernador prudente*, Caupolicán stabs the

astrologer Fitón to death in front of the audience merely to confound his prophecy of doom (Ávila 1917: 24). Later in the play Caupolicán kills Vadivia (1917: 40) and is seen to hold aloft his severed head and offer it to the god Eponamón – that is, Satan (1917: 42). Much more gratuitous, but intended as thrillingly deplorable, are the antics of the bellicose Lautaro in *La bellígera española*, who, prior to killing the wounded Valdivia, taunts him by comparing himself to the cruel Diomedes of Antiquity and gloating sadistically:

> ... esa herida
> que ver en ti cuerpo puedes:
> yo confieso que la mano
> me dejó el golpe sabrosa
> Valdivia: ¿Hay pecho más inhumano?
> .....
> Lautaro: Acabad con él, soldados,
> quebralde la infame boca.
> (Turia 1993: 161)

In tandem with these instances of sadism and murder-for-its-own-sake by the Indians, shock-horror *tableaux* and gory special effects are conceived in order to repel and fascinate the spectator. These feature bloodthirsty deeds from both sides, however. Stage-directions in the Chilean plays of the corpus are especially revealing of gruesome moments: *La bellígera española* has the imaginatively gory and provocative spectacle of the severed heads of Spanish soldiers on display to the audience: '*Descúbrense tres cabezas clavadas en las puntas de tres ramas de un árbol*' (Turia 1993: 156). Moments later another stage-direction has '*sale Valdivia atravesado de una lanza*'(1993: 160). Both these horrors are perpetrated by the Indians, who, in turn, are the victims of the Spaniards in other plays. Having been the subject of a draconian *escarmiento* by the young Governor, don García, the renegade Indian chieftain Galbarino twice appears in the corpus horribly mutilated: in *Algunas hazañas* with '*las manos cortadas*' (Ruiz de Alarcón 1946: 490), and also in *Arauco*

domado, with his hands '*en unos troncos de sangre*' (Vega 1993: 127). Even these gory stunts are exceeded in horror in *Los españoles en Chile* by a punishment which also has the victims' eyes gouged out: an *acotación* reads '*Sale vn Soldado Indio, que trae à dos Indios cortados las manos, y sangre en los ojos*' (González de Bustos 1665: fol.18V)

In other words, however stereotyped the violence emanating from the idolatrous Indians may be, it is matched (or even exceeded) by that of the civilised Christian Spaniards – a conundrum shortly to be addressed. But on the face of it, in the militaristic plays, authors appear initially to build a continuum of mutual destruction which places the savages and the civilised on the same level. The process of tit-for-tat butchery is alluded to in remarks accompanying the last-mentioned of these bloody stunts. An Indian escort explains the rationale for the mutilations to his leader: 'Señor, porque te assombres, / de presẽte te embia estos hõbres' (González de Bustos 1665: fol.18V). This apparently superfluous remark points to a key element in how such a vortex is contrived: apart from Spanish responses to Indian savagery, the inexhaustible *vendetta* is fuelled by Indian overreaction to Spanish reprisals, and so on. So, in *Los españoles en Chile*, Caupolicán's response to the two Indians horribly mutilated by the Spaniards is to torture to death all enemy prisoners 'à tormentos no vistos ni pensados' (1665: fol.18V), an action later reported in these terms: 'mandò matar los cautiuos / Españoles a tormentos / crueles como esquisitos'(1665: fol.19R).

Inflammatory language such as this abounds throughout the plays, on both sides of the racial divide, whether by invocation, exhortation, reportage, reminiscence, threats or recriminations. Beyond its immediate shock-effect, verbal horror is of course intended to establish a context within which atrocities depicted onstage, or

reported off, can be sustained dramatically. [96] In the anonymous part IV of *El español entre todas las naciones* the Indian chief Capite claims to have slaughtered all the Spaniards of Santiago de los Caballeros and cut the throat of don Diego de Caravajal (Anon.1634: fol.22R). In *Los guanches de Tenerife*, the natives bring onstage articles and weapons stripped from the Spanish dead on the field of battle (Vega 1950b: 97). In *El Gobernador prudente*, Lautaro threatens to sever his own arm if the clinging Guacolda continues to impede his return to battle: 'Suelta, o cortaré el brazo / y dejaréte con él' (Ávila 1917: 84). And Motezuma's death, stoned by one of his own people, is twice reported: in *La conquista de México* (Zárate 1993: 256) and in *La sentencia sin firma* by Cortés himself. Cortés then takes responsibilty for ordering the cutting of the throat of the renegade Spaniard Narváez, and the beheading of Motezuma's successor (his nephew Cuautimoc) whose head is to be displayed on a spike in an effort to cow the population (Ávila 1652: 131R-131V).

In total, both the Indians and the Spaniards are depicted as revelling in bloodletting, either envisioned or enacted. The principal appeal of this kind of *Grand Guignol* is one of arousal of the emotions of the spectator. Apart from the gratuitous effects mentioned, it is important that the audience is made ready by the actions of the Indians for the re-action of the Spaniards, which is often swift and terrible. But how do playwrights address the topic of Spanish violence at a level which allows it to be justified or exonerated, or at least explained away?

To answer this it is necessary to refer to scenes of the depiction of the accusations of cruelty and corruption levelled against the Conquistadors in their treatment of the Indians. This provides a clue to the strategies adopted by playwrights in reflecting these excesses in

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[96] This is made clumsily obvious in a repetitious example from *La belligera española*, by Ricardo de Turia. Here, the ferocious Indian Lautaro meets the grisly end which Guacolda has previously dreamt, his 'altivo corazón / de una flecha atravesado'(1993: 81). When, described in an *acotación*, he later appears '*ensangrentados los pechos, y con una flecha*' she exclaims 'Ésta es la flecha soñada / y ése el corazón herido' (1993: 85).

dramatic terms. In what follows, I discuss the portrayal of violence and abuses against the Indians, and analyse the extent to which authors are able to consolidate their justification or exoneration. In my approach to this question I resist the temptation to make the assumption that authors might have encountered a difficulty in approaching the topic of the Conquest due to the proximity of the propaganda campaign which so maligned Spain's conduct in New World. There is insufficient evidence to sustain a discussion of how playwrights individually reacted to this propaganda. However the plays themselves exist in sufficient numbers to yield evidence of a generalised approach by them. Furthermore, by examining some of the militaristic ones and looking at similar circumstances across a range of plays, it is possible to draw some conclusions. In doing so I take advantage of those few instances available in which different playwrights supply varying treatments of the same event, in order to make a comparative analysis. One factor becomes immediately clear though: where playwrights seek to condemn Spanish violence, it is inextricably associated with avarice and lust (just as that of the Indians is indivisible from the workings of Satanic deception). In the quest for similarities between plays, it also becomes apparent that the overwhelming majority of scenes of violence are heterogenous in nature. As a rule, it is rare for playwrights to approach the same incident on more than one occasion. Although such coincidences would facilitate extensive comparative analysis, in the remarks that follow this is possible only in the case of the multiple treatments of the punitive mutilations carried out under García Hurtado de Mendoza in Chile, and his execution of Caupolicán.

* * *

Given that the Conquistadors' exploits had been continually denigrated by comparison to the glamour of the European theatre of war, part of the function of the the corpus was to celebrate their exploits in the New World and accord them equal prestige. But how to celebrate their heroism when certain contemporary perceptions of the Conquest of America were so tainted by accusations of murder, rape and pillage?

The proliferation of Spanish violence across the plays immediately demonstrates that there is no reluctance to engage the topic of the treatment of the Indians. In *Los españoles en Chile* by González de Bustos, Tucapela denounces to a Spanish captive the actions of his leader, García Hurtado de Mendoza (the *marqués*). Her description of his draconian *escarmiento* is graphic and also, it may be recalled, historically well-founded:

> el Marqués, con el pretesto
> de traidores al Rey, hizo,
> (qué indignidad) ahorcar
> ducientos Caciques Indios.
> Y a Caupolicán, por burla,
> por irrision y castigo,
> le embio: grave dolor!,
> sin ojos ni manos, viuos
> otros muchos Araucanos
> (González de Bustos 1665: fol.19R)

Likewise, Cortés in *La conquista de México* is depicted as capable of the most summary executions as he orders a gang of Indian conspirators to be put to death: 'Matadle ..., Muera ... despeñadle ...', he cries, while other collaborators have their throats cut upon his orders. Cortés ignores pleas for mercy:

> Tolemo: Triste de mí, ¿los caciques degüellas?
> .....
> *Dentro* Piedad, Cortés
> Cortés: No repliques.
> (Zárate 1993: 250)

In addition to the extreme and summary justice evident in these instances, there is even in some plays the suggestion that the killing of Indians is a source of personal glory, betrayed by the casual way in which the Conquistadors' murderous prowess is vaunted. Mosquete claims that don Diego in *Los españoles en Chile* has killed a thousand Indians (González de Bustos 1665: 18V). In *Las Amazonas en las Indias*, Gonzalo Pizarro seriously claims to have killed two thousand : 'De cuatro mil indios dejo / cadáveres la mitad' (Molina 1993b: III, 45). To his brother Fernando, in *La lealtad contra la envidia* it is admiringly suggested that: 'vuestro animo varonil / mataba de mil en mil / los indios' (Molina 1993c: IV, 46). Such bravura is not only cited as an act of individual prowess: at times, all can bask in its glory - the State itself, and even the person of the King. In don Felipe's triumphant proclamation at the end of *Arauco domado*, the imperial end is trumpeted as justifying the means – in this case the slaughter of 100,000 Indians:

> Señor mirad que os servimos,
> tiñendo estos verdes campos
> de sangre de cien mil indios
> por daros un reino extraño.
> ¡Quien calla, señor, otorga!
>
> (Vega 1993: 140)

Instances taken from drama, of course, can tell us very little about real attitudes to such events. The dramatic hyperbole of the colossal totals in these Spanish claims of individual prowess or mass slaughter renders the carnage meaningless in conceptual terms and places it in the domain of metaphor or triumphalist exaggeration. Such references do bear witness, though, to the fact that playwrights do not appear to be uncomfortable with the topic as a dramatic trope, which usually appears without a pause to analyse its implications. The exception to this is the judgement scene from *La sentencia sin firma*, which does strike a note which is unusually revealing. At the

end of the play Cortés has to face charges of corruption and insurrection brought by jealous rivals, one of which reads:

> *Iten, que el dicho Fernan Cortès hizo vnas casas en Mexico, donde se gastaron mas de treinta mil vigas de cedro labrado, en cuya fabrica murieron infinitos Indios Christianos.*
>
> (Ávila 1652: fol.38R)

Although it is notable that the Indians are allocated the same status as expensive building materials, Cortés's judge, the future Philip II, is unperturbed. He passes a judgement which provides a glimmer of the vacuousness of Indian mortality rates for their imperial masters. But it does hint at a scale of values in terms of what is considered unacceptable in metropolitan terms, as well as a crucial all-purpose disclaimer in the event of the demise of a certain type of Indian:

> El costar el edificio
> tantas vidas, no es indicio
> de ser Cortès desleal,
> que la muerte es natural,
> y entra en qualquier exercicio;
> Y èl pudo, por si mismo,
> aumentar el Christianismo:
> en esso dichosos fueron
> essos que por èl murieron
> tan cerca del Bautismo.
>
> (1652: fol.138R)

Philip's order of priorities here is significant: Indian casualties are no proof of rebellion, which is the ultimate criminal behaviour. And taken alongside the previous examples involving don García and Cortés, one is immediately confronted by a closed system. On the one hand, it sanctions the killing of heathen Indians and, on the other, reserves the same fate for those who have been baptised (death rewards the newly-baptised Indians with the promise of Heaven). This posture has already been witnessed in the execution of the newly-baptised Caupolicán in *Arauco domado*, and it is almost flippantly expressed here by Philip. Nevertheless the strategy is an essential weapon in the armoury of the playwrights in rationalising the demise of at

least some of the natives.

It is these Christian Indians who have articulated the injustice of the slaughter in their very first appearance on the Spanish stage. Written to coincide with the Great Debate of Salamanca, the most lurid accusations of the supporters of Las Casas (Afanasiev 1971, Martínez 1971) are aptly summarised in the first-known theatrical piece, *Las cortes de la muerte.* This *auto*, divorced from the exigencies of a plotline which might contextualise specific acts of bloodletting, contains a catalogue of abuses against them, including the violation of women, mutilations and even murderous labour conditions, the root of which evil is avarice and lust, and in whose name the Spaniards are claimed to have ransacked the globe. The Indians (Christians all, it should be remembered) take turns to denounce the invaders:

> Por ventura ¿han acabado
> todo el mundo despojar,
> que cosa no haya quedado,
> pues con tanto cuidado
> no vayan allá a buscar?
> .....
> ¡Oh hambre pestilencial
> la de aqueste oro maldito
> desta gente bestial
> hacen tamaño caudal
> de tan malvado apetito!
> .....
> ¿Qué campos no están regados
> con la sangre, que a Dios clama,
> de nuestros padres honrados,
> hijos, hermanos, criados
> por robar hacienda o fama?
> .....
> ¡Qué ley divina ni humana
> permita tales molestias,
> que una gente que es cristiana,
> y que a Dios sirve de gana,
> la carguen como a las bestias!
>
> (Carvajal/Hurtado 1993: 262-3)

Warming to his theme, a *cacique* inverts the predicament of the natives, and asks of the Spaniards: '¿Robámosles por ventura / sus campos, sus heredades, / sus

mujeres?' (1993: 265). Faced with only the ineffectual commiseration of a handful of saints, it is now left to Satan to gloat at the futility of trying to prevent the looters of Spain from making the Ocean crossing:

> Satanás: ¡Cómo! Y ¿piensan de estorbar
> que las gentes no pasasen
> a las Indias a robar?
> .....
> Mas, en fin, el oro es tal,
> qu'es piedra-imán que traía.
> (1993: 267)

So, having cited the disclaimer represented by the salvation of baptised Indian casualties, the twin allure of loot and rapine, identified here, represent a second catch-all clause in excusing Spanish excesses. Presented from the metropolitan point of view as as aberrant behaviour by a disreputable element, it confines, restricts and controls the portrayal of corruption within the context of its own condemnation. This is a vital part of the spirit of exoneration which drives many of the plays. The familiarity of audiences with negative characterisations of transatlantic adventurers seems to be sufficient to allow the lament of the *auto* to be heavily circumscribed by authors and to find its echo in the corpus only as a Cassandra-like set-piece. The transcendent ghosts of the *auto* now become Indian rabble-rousers who give vent to their immediate hostility to the invaders, but whose stance is fatally compromised by ignorance and idolatry. The first words of Tucal to Francisco Pizarro (even as he is aboard ship) are remarkably prescient for one who has never laid eyes on a European before, but are also riddled with examples of the conceptual dsyfuntion which is unable to engage with European phenomena, and as a corollary, its civilised Christian ethos:

> Esta gente nos apresta
> guerra, que en rostros y en trage
> tan diferentes, no son
> menos que enemigos nuestros,

hijos del agua, y maestros
del engaño y la traycion.
.....
No los dexemos tomar
tierra en la playa de Puna,
sigan por mar su fortuna,
que nos quieren engañar.
Ya os conocemos, que el mar
os engendró, y no tenéis
sembrados de que comeis,
ni tierras en que labrar.
Y bagamundos, robando
andais por el agua, haziendo
ofensas, y pretendiendo
en essos monstruos nadando,
que por encanto aueys hecho,
matar con infame guerra
a los hijos de la tierra
contra el natural derecho.
(Vélez de Guevara n.d.: fol.4V)

In *Arauco domado* there is a similar harangue delivered by the belligerent Tucapel. He warns his peers that they will be enslaved if they do not resist the Spaniards. Using the same emblematic reference - previously noted - of the conquered ground under the heel of the conqueror, he points also to the cupidity of the invaders with regard the riches of the native soil, but once again, can only couch his complaint within the terms of the idolatry which enslaves him:

¿Por qué vienen a Chile los cristianos,
pues que no vamos los de Chile a España?[97]
¿Que vengan por mil mares no es bajeza
a ponernos los pies en la cabeza?
Si el soberano Apó juntar quisiera
chilenos y cristianos españoles,
no con tan largo mar nos dividiera,
un sol nos diera luz y no dos soles,
.....
Razón es que miréis que Dios se ofende
que os sujetéis a un hombre, y hombre extraño,
que enriquecerse del sudor pretende

[97] In *El gobernador prudente*, Rengo similarly contemplates giving the Spaniards a taste of their own medicine: 'no me pienso contentar / menos con ir a España / a rendir y conquistar' (Ávila 1917: 19). And we have seen, in *Arauco domado*, that Caupolicán's vengeful son, Engol, has the same notion.

de nuestra mina de oro y fértil año.
(Vega 1993: 107)

And in *El Nuevo Mundo* the Spaniards' base motives are denounced by no less a figure than the Devil who, significantly, is attired '*en hábito de indio*':

Estos, codiciando oro
de tus Indias, se hacen santos,
fingen cristiano decoro,
mientras vienen otros tantos
que lleven todo el tesoro;
que ya el otro llega a España
(Vega 1980: 41)

This intervention by the Devil in the play is instrumental in provoking a rebellion and the wholesale slaughter of the first Spanish settlers in the Caribbean. But the articulation of this argument by the arch-deceiver (in pagan costume) is also reassuringly effective in providing the audience with a corrupt rationale for the Indians' criminal rebellion which is now also seen to be satanic in inspiration. The effect is to achieve audience rejection of both elements: the rebellion (by pagan vassals), and the hypocrisy/gold-lust of aberrant Spaniards (corrupt and provocative).

As in the acquittal of Cortés in *La sentencia sin firma*, what we have seen so far is justification of the Spanish presence in the New World by default: Indian rebels or traitors deserve only summary justice; baptised Indians have saved their immortal souls; the complaints of the Indians are really directed at the rapists, looters and hypocrites who have betrayed the Spanish mission in the New World to evangelise and protect the new corners of the Empire. And whatever the substance of their charges, they are undermined by ignorance and idolatry: the argument is satanically inspired. The verdict returned is "not proven", as it were.

In contrast, the case for exoneration of the Spaniards is positively asserted in the identification of a *triumvirate* of Christian paragons: Columbus, Cortés and don García. These are persons against whom such accusations – sadism, hypocrisy, lust,

greed – are disqualified, and whose virtue is persistently contrasted with the corruption of their subordinates, even their predecessors or rival Conquistadors. This disqualification includes even their violence. In terms of these leading figures, authors are at pains to show the deliberation which precedes killing, a burden of leadership which the *hidalgos* among the Conquistadors manfully shoulder. Ideally, the virtuous protagonist is a man who alternates ruthless authority with pious compassion, without a trace of compromise or contradiction (Benedetti 1993: 10-11). This is certainly the case with Zárate's Cortés in *La conquista de México* and don García in the Chilean plays. He is a Christian zealot, the ferocious hangman of two hundred Indians in *Los españoles en Chile*, and also the eponymous *Gobernador prudente* by Gaspar de Ávila. In this play don García sums up these complementary qualities in epigrammatic style, combining humane consideration with bloody resolve: 'si curo los enfermos / también sé matar los vivos' (1917: 56). The balance to be struck between the two is resolved with discretion, as exemplified by don García's attitude, that is, the ability to stay his hand even in an acute moment of danger, and when the ethical imperative is a complex one. So for example, in his incarnation in *Algunas hazañas*, a treacherous attempt on the life of don García (by an Indian ambassador who has secreted a dagger in a garland) is foiled. Don García now not only prevents the suicide of the would-be Indian assassin, but allows him to go free with the following words of warning: 'La vida puedo quitarte; / Pero porque más me temas, / Te la doy; que el que perdona / Vence más que el se venga' (Ruiz de Alarcón 1946: 498). The significance of this magnanimity relates entirely to the immediate circumstance in which the Indian attempts to fall on the hidden dagger intended for use on don García. His treachery deserves death, but suicide is the ultimate crime against the immortal soul and don García is therefore obliged to thwart it. He is also

permitted to speculate on the nature of statecraft, the efficacity of fear born out of mercy rather than revenge.

By contrast to his corrupt predecessor, don García is thus depicted as irreproachably pious and humane, but unyielding in his condemnation of any corruption on the part of his compatriots. The Chilean plays have him arriving in the wake of the ill-fated and unlamented Valdivia, whose embodiment of the standard accusations made against the Spaniards in *Arauco domado* is conveyed to the Governor by his brother. Don Felipe de Mendoza retails an account of an Indian attack in which he actually quotes the natives' taunting of the Spaniards: 'Venid, que como a Valdivia / os sacaremos las almas / donde la codicia viene / del oro antártico y plata' (Vega 1993: 102). (Don Felipe's failure to distance himself from these accusations rather reinforces the point made regarding the carefully contained latitude given to the Indians' scenes of complaint, which are presented as being directed only at those aspects of Spanish behaviour which are aberrant). In dramatic terms, these words carry clearly pre-meditated authority on the lips of one Spaniard commenting upon another.

In similar vein, *El gobernador prudente* boasts a sub-plot which has don García order Aguirre and Villagrán and other Spaniards transported as prisoners before the *audiencia* in Peru for their abuse of the Indians (Ávila 1917: 99). The whole play is, in fact, predicated upon rooting out the corruption of the previous régime, whose tyranny is cited by the Indians for their rebellion prior to the arrival of the young Governor, who enjoys the sobriquet "San García" in this play also (1917: 99). The Spanish captains don Felipe and don Luis explain the Indians' point of view to don García on their behalf - an important moment in the corpus as the desired perception of the natives and their grievances is defined by members of the

hegemonic élite:

Don García: ¿Qué dicen ?
Don Felipe: Todos están
las bocas puestas en tierra,
y humildes disculpas dan.
Don Luis: Atribuyen desta guerra
la culpa a Caupolicán.
Don García: Dicen que el mal tratmiento
del Gobernador pasado
fué la causa de su intento,
que a tratarlos con agrado,
ellos supieran sufrir,
obedecer y servir.
(Ávila 1917: 102)

This allows don García to pronounce loftily upon the ideals below which Valdivia and his like have fallen, and to announce the advent of new régimes of labour and taxation, somewhat straining the credulity of his entourage (and possibly that of the audience) in the process:

Don García: Yo me doy por convencido,
en su descargo admitido,
que si es dañosa la culpa,
siempre es buena la disculpa
del que la da arrepentido
Don Luis: Que las minas labrarán
dicen, y que poblarán
los lugares despoblados.
Don García: Sólo el fin de mis cuidades
es ése, si ellos me dan
la tierra como la halló
Valdivia, no tendré yo
razón de pedirles nada:
verla quiero restaurada,
pero destruída no.
Don Felipe: ¿Qué tributo han de pagar?
Don García: Sólo aquel que ellos quisieren
voluntariamente dar.
Don Felipe: Será muy poco el que quieran.
(1917: 102)

The hegemonic fantasy of benign paternalism is frequently reflected in the musings of the on-stage Conquistadors. Caravajal argues vehemently in *Amazonas en las Indias* that Spanish Law and the Faith will be in peril if left to the natives: '¿podrá en ellos

ser durable / si en su libertad los dejan?'. They will revert to idolatry, he claims, and asks, '¿Qué harán, pues, cuando les falten / los dueños a quien respetan [?]' (Molina 1993c: IV, 133). Hence the clamour (however unlikely it may seem) for subjection to the Spanish yoke by the Indians themselves. Part I of *El español entre todas las naciones* has the chieftain Caloco plead with Ordoñez de Ceballos: 'Buelvan los encomenderos, / denos padres de dotrina, / que traza ha sido divina' (Remón 1629: 25R). And the personification, La América, closes the first act of *Las palabras* with a declamatory appeal to Francisco Pizarro, the contents of which crystallize the Spanish sense of self-righteousness as projected by the pseudo-Indian voice: the desire to be free from Satan and to embrace the Faith, to be conquered and subsumed into the Empire:

> La America soy, gloriosa,
> de ver que tus leños surquen
> mis golfos, que mis braços
> de mis idolatras triunfen.
> Toda a de quedar por ti
> reduzida, por ti ...
> Piçarro heroyco ...
> .....
> Como me librò Cortès
> de la ciega servidumbre
> de Moteçumas ...
> .....
> Por ti la Fé se propague,
> por ti las Impireas cumbres
> de almas se pueblen.
> (Vélez de Guevara n.d.: fol.7R)

La América does not, of course, omit to mention the vast riches which will flow from Conquest: 'en perfumes, / en drogas ... / en perlas, en plata, en oro' (n.d.: fol.7R), but the context is established: the Conquest within the framework of paternal justice and evangelisation is to be welcomed by the Indians, not resisted.

The thematic requirement that any abuse of the Indians by a Spaniard be perceived as having been committed by aberrant elements gives rise to a constant

tension in the plays between the virtue of the protagonists and the vices of their subordinates. Time and again, Columbus, Cortés, don García and even the Pizarros are obliged to admonish their own captains and troops, whether it be for sexual aggression, violence or looting. Columbus's and Cortés's men are depicted by authors as openly hostile to any kind of restraint and voice their opinions for the audience to hear. For example, Cortés lectures the troops on their future conduct at the start of *La conquista de México* insisting that 'ningún indio, por mi vida, / reciba daño, soldados, / ni oro robe, ni oro pida' (Zárate 1993: 209-10). But his followers simultaneously conspire to thwart him: 'Por Dios, que he de henchir las manos / de los tesoros indianos / que esta gran tierra contiene' says one (1993: 210-211). Cortés is of course above the avarice of his weaker brethren, and declares:

> no por codicia salí
> de mi casa,
> y vine aquí,
> codicioso de robar
> la sierra y al indio mar
> .....
> no se fundó mi camino
> en vil y bajo exceso
> (1993: 210)

He reprimands them when the troops do pillage gold (1993: 232) and reissues his edict (1993: 233). He is conscious of the gold-lust which fires his troops, and asks Mariana (the Marina/Malinche figure) to convey this to Motezuma (almost as if to warn him of their impending invasion): 'dile si tiene oro / para curar de mi gente / cierta enfermedad' (1993: 237). This is almost a full turn of the circle: Cortés's metaphor 'enfermedad' is uttered in the same vein as the 'hambre pestilencial' of the *Cortes de la muerte*. But Cortés dissociates himself from the obsession, and in doing so, from its attendant guilt. In act III of the drama, as he marches on Motezuma a sequence of instances shows an inexorable refusal by Cortés to be bought off by loot.

Motezuma's majordomo reports how Cortés snubs a first offer of gold: 'el oro / dice que quiere dejaros' (1993: 244). An increased bribe of 100,000 pesos in gold is then ignored (1993: 252), then a vast bounty of priceless artefacts (1993: 253), and finally a desperate offer of an unlimited ransom in gold (1993: 254). As a result, Motezuma's bitter accusation against the Spaniards, familiar by now, 'que la codicia del oro / ... / traiga este fuerte nación, / con capa de religión'(1993: 251) is rendered void in terms of the character of Cortés, whose evangelical fervour is depicted throughout the play as being on a par with his disdain for loot.

* * *

Achieving the balance between piety and warrior zeal is a task which is not easy to sustain, however, and plainly divides the dramatists when one issue in particular is rehashed: the treatment of Caupolicán. As previously mentioned, don García's dramatisation as a character in the plays is, to some extent, due to the equivocal treatment he had received from Ercilla in the epic poem *La Araucana.* The poet, scarred by his experience (it is supposed) at being sentenced to death and then pardoned by don García during the Araucanian wars, is less than fulsome in his tribute to him in the poem (Zugasti 1996a: 433, Dille 1997: 126 note 8). There, the stoic figure of the doomed Caupolicán towers over the action, in life and death, which he bears with fortitude. (Dixon 1993: 80-81, Albarracín-Sarmiento 1966). The assiduous commission of propaganda pieces to redress the balance, to restore and exalt the name of don García's family, is undoubtedly the reason why more Hurtado de Mendoza sponsored plays exist in the corpus than any other type (Dixon 1993: 81ff). Even so, the various treatments of the Caupolicán execution show some

hesitation among authors at the portrayal of his justicial rigour, which operates on a sliding scale between plays, thus providing a certain insight into the difficulties which secular hagiographies may have entailed.

The background to this creative decision has been traced by Dixon (1993), who compares the various sources from which Lope was working, among them Ercilla's poem and Escobar's *Crónica del reino de Chile* (possibly composed with the direct participation of don García himself). According to *La Araucana*, the execution of Caupolicán was ordered by Alonso de Reinoso (Canto XXX). And according to Escobar, the order was given by the *maese de campo*. But Lope ignores both versions and is unequivocal in his casting of don García as having given the order. It is also Lope's original inspiration to bring don García and Caupolicán together for the above scene, thus making don García responsible too, 'by example and precept, for Caupolicán's conversion, which his sources had referred to but not explained' (1993b: 90):

Fuerza me será entregarte
a mi Maese de campo,
que a vista de todo el campo
querrá también castigarte.
Pésame Caupolicán,
que perdonarte no puedo
.....

Caupolicán: Ya que la vida acabamos
de darla al alma tratemos
serás mi padrino.

García: Vamos;
y este parentesco haremos

(Vega 1993: 135,137)

However, Lope is not alone among the playwrights in attributing to don García the command to impale Caupolicán. *Los españoles en Chile* gives the whole business short shrift, admittedly, but the report that reaches don García at the close of the action runs as follows:

Ya en Caupolican se hizo
la justicia, que tú mandas:
puesto en un palo muriò,
y con la mayor constancia,
que humanos ojos han visto.
(González de Bustos 1665: 23R)

Another skirmish interrupts at this point in the play and don García makes no reply, nor is the matter mentioned again.

Lope's concentration on don García as prime mover in, and supervisor of, the incident is rendered progressively more tenuous in other dramatisations. *Algunas hazañas* shows a quite different inflection on events. Don García receives the report that Reinoso, to avenge the death of Valdivia (his uncle), and the desecration of his skull, has ordered the impaling of Caupolicán. Don García is enraged by this dishonourable sentence and rushes to save Caupolicán : 'Hoy pienso, por socorrelle, / Pasar sin pisar el valle / Seguidme' (Ruiz de Alarcón 1946: 507). But he arrives too late and flies into a fury at Reinoso whom he accuses of 'la crueldad más feroz / Que inventó bárbaro scita' (1946: 508) and now in turn orders Reinoso to be beheaded, exclaiming 'Sepa el Rey que à un hecho injusto / Castigo justo le doy' (1946: 508). Don García's absolution from blame having been secured by means of this demonstration of instant justice, Reinoso's fate is now softened by the hint of a successful appeal to 'abreviar el castigo' (1946: 508). Even so, don García's demeanour remains severe as he leaves the stage, once more with a reflection on the discretion that must accompany authority:

jamás alcanza
La vitoria la venganza
Este es el oficio mío
Pues premio, he de castigar
Mientras fulmino el proceso,
Esté con seis guardas preso.

Vase

(1946: 508)

In don García's absence, the impaled Caupolicán, is now displayed in the throes of death in a *descubrimiento*, and dies nobly with Christ's name on his lips. This treatment, taken as a whole, constitutes a substantial act of revision on the part of the writers of *Algunas hazañas*, who recast the play in favour of the source material - exonerating don García from any implication in the draconian punishment, which is portrayed and denounced as an act of revenge rather than justice. Consistent with this exculpatory tone, don García's angry death sentence on Reinoso is attenuated by mercy and consideration as a court-martial is then promised. Rebolledo dissuades officers from further pleas on behalf of Reinoso, confident that don García's ire is transitory: 'Que la templanza reporta / El fuego más encendido' (1946: 508). The play ends with no further discussion of the matter: a rather unsatisfactory outcome, but one which possibly is meant to indicate that Reinoso's life can be presumed to have been spared.

Equally removed from Lope's interpretation of events, and essentially similar to *Algunas hazañas*, is Ávila's treatment in *El gobernador prudente*. This also places the decision in the hands of Reinoso, who suffers an explosion of rage from don García at being shown the *tableau* of Caupolicán impaled, the Governor's first knowledge of the event. 'Por vida del Rey, tirano, / que estoy por darte la muerte / por hecho tan inhumano' he rages (Ávila 1917: 111). Reinoso is able, however, to rescue the situation immediately with the familiar and irrefutable argument 'Que murió, señor, advierte, / arrepentido y cristiano' (1917: 111). And when the Indian woman Guacolda (now baptised as María, and bound for a nunnery) subsequently pleads for the life of Reinoso, don García allows himself to be persuaded 'Y yo convencido / sólo por ti le perdono' (1917: 112) before denouncing vengeance masquerading as justice, in sententious terms similar to the previous play:

que aunque las venganzas son
disculpas del corazón,
la nobleza del poder
consistió en poderla hacer
pero no en la ejecución.
(1917: 112)

This treatment is, then, another deployment of the catch-all rationalisation, evident throughout the corpus, that excesses are excused by the recent baptism of the victims. Its use here also weakens Ávila's *desenlace* dramatically, given that even when responsibility is apportioned (to Reinoso), Ávila clears him without further ado.

The conclusion must therefore be that the treatments of the incident in both *Algunas hazañas* and *El gobernador prudente* are attempts to distance the Hurtado family from a celebrated, almost legendary event, association with which appears to bring no credit.

Conversely, González de Bustos does not share the qualms about don García's role which may be reflected in *Algunas hazañas* (known to have been written to order at the behest of the family) and in *El gobernador prudente*, which very possibly was.[98] In *Los españoles en Chile* he appears to defer to Lope's treatment, but only from a distance, for there is no attempt to claim the evangelical role for don García, the executioner-cum-godfather. González de Bustos does not, in any event, seem to be subject to quite the same fixation on the incident as his peers, a consideration that might well have something to do with the dearth of information as to whether *Los españoles en Chile* is a sponsored effort like its counterparts.

Of the four plays, Lope's treatment stands as the most uncompromising, and the one that invests most confidence in the audience, in both attributing responsibilty

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[98] Gaspar de Ávila was a *secretario* of the Marqueses del Valle, and also wrote *El valeroso español.* My thanks are due to Professor Dixon for his orientation on this point. In a note to me, he adds the following observation: '*Algunas hazañas* and *El gobernador* were probably indebted to Lope's play; it seems likely that their authors were given copies of it and asked to correct or tone down (as they did, as pointed out here) his version of the story of Caupolicán'.

for the execution in unabashed fashion, and mounting a much more dramatically satisfying interrogation of the actions of his sponsors. Once more, Lope's creative spark repeatedly elevates his work above that of his peers, and one can only echo Dixon in wondering if the Hurtado family, in commissioning the piece, 'realized what good value they got for their money' (1993b: 91). Whatever the circumstances governing the various creative nuances, though, the execution of Caupolicán may supply the only hint in the corpus that at least two authors hesitated in trumpeting one of the more bloody events of the folkore of the Conquest, a possibility that coincides with the qualms suffered by don García himself over his rigour sixty years before, and gave rise to a parallel expression of self-justification in his last will and testament.

* * *

In addressing the manner in which the violence of the Spanish is circumscribed by exculpatory artifice, I have touched on the perceived provocation implicit in the portrayal of the Indians as bloodthirsty savages. But in addition to the violence intrinsic to their status as barbarians, the representation of Indians in the corpus boasted a certain trump card to be played when the required mode of perception of the natives veered towards hostility. Cannibalism fulfilled this role perfectly, and its exploitation as a *topos* is remarkably formulaic and consistent. Its associations with the Eucharist, with mutilations and dismemberment, are subject of the next part of this chapter, in which I discuss the playwrights' use of horror and comedy – and even a combination of the two – to paint an ultimately desolate picture of the Indian on stage.

Of all the horrors that man can inflict on man, the eating of human flesh and blood-drinking are seen as particularly heinous. As far as the Indians are concerned,

it is a sure sign of collusion with Satan. The cannibal *topos* is virtually unique to the New World plays in terms of the *comedia* as a whole, and provides an excellent opportunity to examine the manner in which a particularised attribute of Otherness is deployed on stage.

In this section I show how the use of cannibalism as a shock-horror trope is confined strictly to reportage of butchery and orgiastic feasting, and how – as soon as the cannibals and their victims take the stage – it adopts an alternative posture, also festive, but in a positive sense. As the key to this mode, which bridges the gap between serious and comic drama in the New World plays, I then point to carnival humour, and its use of Bakhtinian "grotesque realism". I cite examples of the exclusively comic treatment anthropophagy receives, and discuss its debt to the spirit of corporality and the universal inclusiveness of medieval popular laughter. In addition to this, I discuss related topics associated with the integrity of the flesh, such as massacres and mutilations. Athough previously cited among instances of repulsive violence, these also have a complementary existence within the domain of the burlesque, where they interact with the cannibal trope, and I analyse here the implications of this alternative treatment. I cite evidence of the decay which, according to Bakhtin, this positive, regenerative humour undergoes, and discuss first its descent into black humour (particularly in tropes dealing with base bodily functions and dismemberment) and then its total eclipse by satire and nihilism.

Already discussed in this study is the way in which cannibalism was a given attribute of the Indians throughout the Golden Age and beyond (Balcells 1992: 157, Castro-Klarén 1997, Fonseca 1995). As Covarrubias observed; 'Notoria cosa es que los indios, antes de ser conquistados por los españoles comían carne humana, y la nuestra les sabía mejor que otras, como cuentan las historias de las Indias' (quoted by

Ruiz Ramón 1993: 123 note 60). In the plays its use as a trope divides into three categories: a) as analogous to the Eucharist in representations of the 'evangelical process; b) as a shock-horror device, but strictly limited to reportage; c) as a vehicle for grotesque humour via the *gracioso* and/or when cannibalism is "staged". It appears, from a survey of the whole corpus, that all playwrights adhere to this unwritten formula. In theological mode, two of the *autos* cannot, in fact, function without this assumption on the part of the audience: as we have seen, *La Araucana* is an exercise in analogy between the the inverted satanic rite and the Holy Eucharist, as the Caupolicán/Christ figure explains: 'Y por ver que sois amigos / De carne humana, hoy os hago / Plato de mi carne misma'(Vega 1917: 287-8).

Blood-drinking is also a recurrent motif, which, being equally analogous to the Eucharist in its treatment, is tackled in the same manner by dramatists. The *Loa* to *El divino Narciso* functions on this level, with the Indians exhorted to give freely of their blood amid the opening chants and dances of the piece, as Música exclaims:

> Dad de vuestras venas
> la sangre más fina,
> para que, mezclada,
> a su culto sirva:
> y en pompa festiva
> celebrad a gran Dios de las Semillas
> (Cruz 1960: 4)

But on a more sinister level, this celebration is also intended to repel the spectator, as the personification Occidente goes on to relate details of the accompanying element of the ritual, in which more than 2,000 are to die 'en sacrificios cruentos / de humana sangre vertida' (Cruz 1960: 4). And inevitably it is this lurid aspect of the topic which characterises the plays in the corpus, where similar personifications, whose identity conflates Satanism with Indian status, invariably appropriate it. In *La conquista de México* Idolatría rages at Religión that she will have an Indian chief eat the Spaniards

alive: 'yo haré que vivos los coma' before another 500 of them are sacrificed at her altar (Zárate 1993: 228). In *Amazonas en las Indias*, the eponymous Indian witch Menalipe, also identifies the feast with sexual attraction: 'Pues si en contrarios estremos / a los hombres nos comemos / ¿cómo los querremos bien?', she asks, boasting to Pizarro that: 'Carne humana es el manjar / que alimenta nuestra vida' (Molina 1993b: III, 27). Spaniards consistently express their fears of being cannibalised, or their disgust at the Indians' habit. Doña María, stranded in the wilderness in *El nuevo rey Gallinato* hesitates to approach a tribe in case 'de sangre humana está hambrienta' (Claramonte 1983: 182). In *La conquista de México* Cortés issues an admonishment of Motezuma for his peoples' reputation for such unnatural practices: 'Dile cómo yo he sabido / que come hombres, / que es cosa a naturaleza odiosa, / y que está el Cielo ofendido' (Zárate 1993: 237).

The combination of the horror of Human sacrifice and its designation as a festival event in the mode of a banquet is made explicit in *Los guanches de Tenerife*, as a dreadful command goes out on behalf of the Sun-god for a ritual which entails child-murder: 'hazle un grande sacrificio; / no perdones en él toros, ovejas, / aves, peces, olores, ni las vidas / de nuestros hijos, (Vega 1950b: 69). Similarly, in *La sentencia* Cortés tells of battles against the Indians and those soldiers who have perished 'cuya carne vanquetean' - a significant choice of verbal expression (Ávila 1652: fol.131V). The ritual celebratory nature of flesh-consumption is further reinforced in another two reports of orgiastic ritual (complete with music and revelry): one by the castaway Spaniard Aguilar, who recounts his ordeal when captured by the Indians in *La conquista de México*, adding chilling details of the process itself, and the fate of one of the captains:

> Fuimos presos de los indios,
> y un cacique que con rabia

sacrificando a Valdivia,
que era un capitán de fama,
asado se le comió,
y otros cuatro otra mañana
sirvieron en un convite
que hizo a su esposa Aglaura
pusiéronnos a engordar
a los demás

(Zárate 1993: 225)

The other is by the Spaniard Alonso in *Arauco domado*:

que el indio más pertinaz
de todo Arauco ha trazado
una fiesta y borrachera
de las que suelen hacer
en Coyocupil
.....
Hay instrumentos chilenos
y españoles para asarse
soldados, y aun de los buenos;
tiene para emborracharse,
de chicha cántaros llenos

(Vega 1993: 123)

The practice of cannibalism is, therefore, to be assumed as occurring within the parameters of a ritual feast. It does not merely refer to an alternative source of nourishment for hungry Indians. This association is crucial to the discussion which now follows. Here attention is focussed, not on the horror of cannibalism (in serious mode) but its comic obverse - festive horror. Before proceeding to an analysis of this trope, however, a discussion of genre within the *comedia* is required, with particular attention paid to what exactly is meant by the terms "comic" "serious", "burlesque", "tragic" and so on.

Vitse's categorisation of tragedy and its close associate the 'comédie sérieuse' has been summarised and developed by Arellano, who retains the emphasis on the role of hagiography and the *gracioso* within it. There exist, he says the following sub-genres:

comedia seria: con posibles variedades de comedias heroicas, hagiográficas

de gran espectáculo y otras [...] . Las hagiografías por ejemplo, mantienen una verosimilitud peculiar que admite milagros y efectos maravillosos, y sus desenlaces trágicos son aparentes, ya que se resuelven en la apoteosis de la salvación [...] . En este terreno se colocarían generalmente las obras llamadas tragicomedias. Los elementos cómicos se organizan en secuencias relativamente aisladas y la graciosidad la desempeña un agente especializado (el gracioso). Tonalidad patética.

(Arellano 1995: 138)[99]

This summary fits perfectly with the corpus under discussion, from the point of view both of quasi-hagiographic sponsored efforts and of the theme of redemption, as well as its definition of the manner in which *graciosos* are allocated isolated interventions. This last element indeed absolutely determines whether or not certain comic tropes can be allowed at all, as we shall see.

Arellano goes on to discuss the nature of comic elements incorporated into a category of short pieces of about 2,000 lines. These he calls the *comedia burlesca.* This constitutes a tiny subgenre of about forty plays which parody and invert what Vitse's defines as tragedies. (This is true in all subject-matter for these plays - not even royalty being exempt from its carnivalesque mockery). And Arellano then argues that elements of the burlesque are common to all comic drama of the period, and draw on the grotesque realism defined by Bakhtin (Bajtín), whom he quotes:

> Todo lo considerado repulsivo, bajo o grosero tiene cabida en la comedia burlesca, que en buena parte opera la reducción de los personajes poniendo de relieve las funciones orgánicas primarias que los acercan al reino animal y rebajan cualquier pretensión espiritual o elevación metafísica.
>
> La serie de lo bajo corporal cómico es muy abundante en estas comedias: remite en último extremo al sistema de de la cultura popular, cuyo realismo grotesco se basa en el principio de la vida material y corporal como señala Bajtín:
>
> The essential principle of grotesque realism is degradation, that is, the lowering of all that is high, spiritual, ideal, abstract (Bakhtin 1984: 19)[100]

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[99] These ideas derive from Vitse (1990: 326ff). I am grateful to Professor Vitse for giving me a copy of his book.

[100] Because I use the English translation of Bakhtin's seminal work at all other times in the discussion that follows, for reasons of consistency, I have substituted the English, plus a page reference, here for Arellano's quotation from the Spanish translation (Bajtín 1998), which runs as follows: 'el rasgo sobresaliente del realismo grotesco es la degradación, o sea, la transferencia al plano material y corporal de lo elevado, espiritual y abstracto'.

> Los personajes de las burlescas mencionan partes del cuerpo "prohibidas", se refieren a funciones fisiológicas tabú (orinar, defecar, ventosear), y se obsesionan con la comida, la fuente más popular del humor [...] otro de los elementos básicos de esta materialidad carnavalesca [...] repetitiva en su sentido expresivo de una glotonería ruda, más atenta a la cantidad que a la sofisticación alimentaria o a las dietas saludables: derivados del cerdo, embutidos gruesos, grasas, sustanciosos banquetes báquicos propios del carnaval, acompañados de los "tragazos" pertinentes [...].
>
> (Arellano 1995: 645)

It is Arellano's contention that this humour has a general application in the *comedia* which is of interest here. Bakhtin's thesis is that this spirit of carnival is an essential component of Renaissance literature. He argues that the literature and utopias of the Renaissance and their concept of the universe were deeply penetrated by the spirit of carnival, and often adopted its forms and symbols. My suggestion is that these are especially apparent in the New World plays. Here scatalogical and physiological motifs are the overwhelming comic recourse, but with an inflection peculiar to the corpus's unique treatment of the trope of cannibalism, because it allows the conflation of the mockery of bodily appendages and functions, with the trope of gluttony, which in itself literally feeds off the dismembered corpse, thus providing also for a sadistic burlesque of the topic of mutilation.[101] All onstage instances of the paraphernalia of flesh-eating; display of captives; testing for corpulence; discussion of method; preparations for spit-roasting; lighting bonfires and so on, become the exclusive domain of the carnival humour of the *gracioso*.

As defined by Bakhtin, the developmental trajectory of carnival humour between the medieval period and the Renaissance can be summarised as follows: carnival laughter is identified as the uncompromising positive medieval spirit of universal corporality, its mortality and renewal. The facilitator of this perception is defined as grotesque realism: a universalised and exaggerated celebration of corporal functions and appendages belonging

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[101] Even the much wider body of plays featuring the figure of the Wild Man avoids the topic, despite the iconographic insistence on his anthropophagy previously noted.

to Bakhtin's 'collective ancestral body of all the people' (1984: 19). Physical and scatological mockery of food, drink, digestion, and sex looks to the bodily "lower strata": genitals, the belly, the buttocks and their associated functions; defecation, copulation, conception, pregnancy and birth, or as he observes: 'degradation digs a bodily grave for a new birth; it has not only a destructive negative aspect, but also a regenerating one [...] Grotesque realism knows no other level; it is the fruitful earth and womb. It is always conceiving' (1984: 21).

In the New World plays, an indication of audience familiarity of this type of humour, combined with the cannibalistic associations made with the Indians, is apparent in comic lines ("gags") delivered swiftly by characters operating in *gracioso* mode. A considerable amount of confidence on the part of the author in terms of audience recognition of the humour contained is evident in this regard. For example in *Algunas hazañas*, the Spaniard Chilindrón, reacts to reports of the savage Indian Tucapel with the quip: 'Que me dicen que se traga / como una cereza á un hombre' (Ruiz de Alarcón 1946: 497). Similarly, an Indian looking into a mirror at his own image for the first time in *La conquista de México*, is subject to comic terror : 'Un chiquillo está aquí dentro / ... / si abro la boca, él también. / Sin duda comer me quiere (Zárate 1993: 215).

The burlesque tone of remarks of this type – something of an option in the case of mere reportage or commentary - is, however, *de rigueur* for the actual enactment of the *topos* on stage. All instances of eating flesh are consigned to the domain of grotesque realistic comedy. An examination of some of these scenes shows the range of carnival humour that they incorporate. When in *Las palabras a los reyes* Tucapela is rescued by a storm from Carib pirates 'que carne humana comen' she describes their Wild Man costume in terms which are intended to be obliquely

reminsicent of the standard garb of the satanic personifications which inhabit the corpus: 'visten estrelladas / pieles blancas y negras de Tigres y de Dautas' (Vélez de Guevara n.d.: fol.11R). In contrast to these disturbing reports, however, when the same Caribs take the stage it is to facilitate a *gracioso* sketch full of "marketplace" references to bodily functions, (threatened) nudity, gluttony, and even the climactic *embutido*, with the Indians reduced to cueing the absurdities of the querulous clown and, importantly, his serene and resolute counterpart - the "straight-man".

> *Salen los caribes con pieles, al son de vn caracol, y Mancopol capitán, Gualeva dama, tambien con pieles, y los demas Galvan y Truxillo (Spanish captives) sin espadas.*

Mancopol: ... estos dos
Viracochas merendemos.
Galvan: Miren que talle tenemos,
Truxillo hermano, yo y vos,
de empanados, o menudo
hecho en casa de muger
limpia, para pretender
merendamos ...
Poli[pan] Sacad essos assadores.
Galvan: Assa que?
Truxillo: Assadores dixo
en su lengua.
Galvan: Que prolixo
rigor de influxos traydores
nos condenaron á assar,
quando ninguno a nacido
capon, ni ternera?
Truxillo: A sido
fiera inclemencia del mar.
Paciencia, que esto traço
la desdicha.
Galvan: Sin delito
tenga paciencia vn cabrito
que para asado naciò.
Truxillo: Ya de las plantas mayores
.....
hogueras quieren hazer,
y sacan los assadores.
Pongamonos bien con Dios,
hermano Galvan.
Galvan: Truxillo,
poneos vos, que aunque me ensillo

para pespuntar con vos
esta carrera, quisiera
quedarme vna legua atras
Alican: Encendida esta la hoguera
Polican: A que aguardais? desnudad
essos villanos

Desnudalos

.....
Galvan: Que estamos para comer,
poco menos que un peñasco,
Truxillo os a de hazer asco,
que trae braguero, y de ser
recien purgado estoy yo;
fuera de que no se escapa,
tener las carnes de zapa,
todo español que nacio
con estas barbas: suplico
a vuestra cariberia
A Dios Truxillo, que voy
a ser morcilla.
(Vélez de Guevara n.d.: fol.11V-12R)

Rescued in the nick of time (as is the case in all such incidents in the corpus) Galván reflects on his narrow escape in the grotesque terminology of the lower stratum:

Vamos que por Iesu Christo
que pense estar a estas horas
en la barriga de vn Indio
passeandome mascado,
mal assado y bien comido,
como en vna galeria,
de intestino, en intestino.
(Vélez de Guevara n.d.: fol.12R)

The pattern for this comic trope had been established early in the development of the genre by Lope. *Arauco domado* has already been cited as one of the most spectacularly horrific plays in the corpus, but it too reverts immediately to comedy as soon as the cannibalism *topos* is enacted on stage. The Indians capture the *gracioso* soldier Rebolledo while he is helping himself to food ('salió este español, que estaba / comiendo en un platanal') and they tie him up. The comic discussion is instigated by Puquelco:

¿qué parte dél asarán?
Tucapel: ¡Graciosa está la pregunta!
Ásale entero, que quiero
comermele todo entero
.....
Rebolledo: Acabóse: hoy imitamos
al bendito San Lorenzo
.....
Gualeva: No le tiréis, porque quiero
que le aséis vivo.
Rebolledo: Pensé
que era piedad lo primero;
.....
tiradme, que es menor mal
asarme muerto que vivo;
¿Cómo comerme sin sal?
Dejadme ir, que os prometo
de traérosla en un punto.

This ruse having failed, Rebolledo now encourages his captors to eat him, so that they too may die:

Tengo cierta enfermedad
de tan mala calidad
que por mis venas se vierte
a manera de veneno;
y si algún ave en España
o animal, della está lleno,
tanto al que le come daña,
que muere, del seso ajeno.
Asadme porque dé muerte
a Tucapel desta suerte
y sirva a mi General
en quitarlos hombre igual
tan atrevido y tan fuerte
.....
Gualeva: ¿Qué nombre ha puesto la fama
a esa enfermedad traidora?
Rebolledo: Escapatoria.
(Vega 1993: 104-5)

And his sentence is immediately commuted!

In these instances we see the representation of the Indians as operating merely in terms of the vehicle which their perceived anthropophagy provides for the dramatists. This is an important departure from their on-stage "reputation" for

actually going through with their ritual murders and consumption of flesh. It further demonstrates that their dramatic representation is much more circumscribed by the requirements of a varied plotline than by any notional attempt to render them as coherent characters in a modern sense, and that the overriding consideration is the mode in which any given scene is intended to operate, whether "comic", "serious", or "tragic". There is even an oblique reference to this mechanism in one play. In a similar incident from Aguilar's *Fray Luis Bertrán*, the characters acknowledge some presumption of the *topos* as a comic trope (that is, it is enacted with the collusion of the audience via remarks made on stage). The scene begins, as before, in *gracioso* mode, with the supposedly friendly Indian Lautaro terrorising the fat Fray Pedro by threatening to rip out his heart and drink his blood:

Fray Pedro: ¿Pues que pretendes?
Lautaro: Hartarme
de essas tus carnes robustas
Fray Pedro: De mis carnes?
Lautaro: Si das gritos
te rompere el coraçon
Fray Pedro: Luego los de tu nación
comen hombres
Lautaro: Infinitos
Fray Pedro: Yo juro a Dios, y a esta cruz
que me huelgo que lo assomes
Lautaro: Porqué?
Fray Pedro: Porque si me comes,
te bolueras en auestruz
.....
que mis carnes ouachonas
ni aun para cueros son buenas
Lautaro: Beuer tu sangre imagino
Fray Pedro: Tambien te emborracharas
pues con ella beueras
la quinta essencia del vino.
.....
Lautaro: quiero matarte, y ponerte
porque no hiedas, en sal
.....
vn cuchillo he menester
para hazer la anatomia

(Aguilar 1914: 92)

He takes out a knife to carry out his design, but Luis Bertrán arrives to save fray Pedro's life. It is Lautaro's excuses to Luis which are notable here: an unusually self-conscious moment of commentary on the cannibalistic stereotype of the Indian:

> Digo que yo
> me burlaua en quanto hazia
> sabras padre que por ver
> su impaciencia loca y vana,
> que comemos carne humana
> le quise dar a entender
> y el se lo beuio.
>
> (1914: 94)

This interlude functions on various levels: the reference to the excision of the heart and the drinking of blood are dependent upon audience recognition of stereotypical tropes, but the humour resides in Fray Pedro's *gracioso* terror (i.e. cowardice) and lack of fortitude - a point reinforced by Luis Bertrán's ironic observation: 'Pedro aduierte / que es gran joya el sufrimiento' (1914: 94). Here Luis is clearly colluding with Lautaro in mocking Fray Pedro, which confirms the status of the incident as comic relief only, but also hints that the reputation of the Indians for cannibalism is more a product of metropolitan credulity than absolute fact. This is the only time in the corpus that the Indians' cannibalism has the status of a perception rather than a given, even though it is safely hived off into the space occupied by comedy. Significantly, Lautaro's excuse also defines the representation of the stage-Indian in this context as facilitator for the comic/stoic reaction of the proposed victim. In other words, the trope does not serve to configure the identity of the native in any way, except to indicate a stereotypical attribute which is then subordinated to the depiction of the metropolitan figure on stage. Hence, in this instance, the indiscriminate conflation of two elements; the first is the ritual (heart extraction, blood drinking) which is elsewhere associated with grave matters such as the Eucharist and Devil-

worship; and the second is the carnavalesque insistence on bodily appetites and functions.

This kind of gross humour is certainly not exclusive to the New World plays - only in its exploitation of the theme of anthropophagy is this the case - but because of its obvious corporality and associations with the body's lower strata, the representation of cannibalism in the corpus provides a unique opportunity for one particular inflection of grotesque realism which, as indicated by Bakhtin, lingers in the literature of the Renaissance, albeit in much more formulaic mode. The humiliation and degeneration of the *gracioso* by means of the cannibalism *topos* can be shown to lay him open to the much more generalised carnival mockery of the lower body strata, the appendages and orifices, the taboo functions and physiological dysfunctions which are the essence of Baktin's "humour of the marketplace".

The irony expressed by Luis Bertrán, in the latter incident, supplies a clue to the destination of this kind of grotesque realism in the baroque period. According to Bakhtin, this inclusive humour – which in its origins celebrated an unbreakable universal cycle of birth, death and rebirth – is transformed by writers like Erasmus, Cervantes, Shakespeare, Lope and Quevedo into something much more individual and much less positive. The cyclical idea of time which characterised the medieval period, was widened and deepened by a sense of history and transition, which lent these images a new interpretation while preserving their traditional content: copulation; pregnancy; birth; growth; old-age; disintegration; and dismemberment. The medieval humour of the marketplace that did not discriminate between actor and spectator is now supplanted by the sarcasm and mockery of the Golden Age, and loses its former quality of renewal. The corporality which is retained in the figure of Sancho Panza is converted into an object of derision, with grotesque realism having

become a mechanism of alienation rather than universal solidarity. Carnival humour, argues Bakhtin, survived into the Renaissance but was weakened and narrowed in its scope:

> Degradation, whether parodical or of some other type, is characteristic of Renaissance literature which in that sense perpetrated the best tradition of the culture of folk humor (fully and deeeply expressed by Rabelais). But even at this point the material bodily principle was subject to a certain alteration and narrowing. Its universal and festive character was somewhat weakened. True, the process was still at its initial stage as can be observed, for instance in Don Quixote [...] under Cervantes' pen, as bodies and objects begin to acquire a private, individual nature: they are rendered petty and homely and become the immovable parts of private life, the goal of egotistical lust and possession. This is no longer the positive, regenerating and renewing lower stratum, but a blunt and deathly obstacle to ideal aspirations. In the private sphere of isolated individuals the images of the bodily lower stratum preserve the element of negation while losing almost entirely their positive regenerating force. Their link with life and with the cosmos is broken, they are narrowed down to naturalistic erotic images. In Don Quixote, however, this process is only at its initial stage.
>
> (1984: 23)

According to Bakhtin, Cervantes and the Quijote retained festive grotesque realism, for example, in the antics of Sancho. 'The private and universal were still blended in a contradictory unity. The carnival spirit still reigned in the depths of Renaissance literature' (1984: 23) he maintains. But egotism and atomization of the universal body had initiated a process of negation which became very apparent as the century wore on and gave way to Romanticism.

This process of decay is particularly reflected in an incident from part I of *El español entre todas las naciones* by Remón. It encapsulates much of the kind of material familiar from the cannibal *topos*, before descending to a much bleaker level. Throughout the play there is the unquestioning assumption by the Spaniards of cannibalism on the part of the Indians; at one point, the terrified doña Juana, dressed in male attire, says: 'de comerme han tratado ... y estoy gordo y mi sabor / sera dulce'

(Remón 1629: fol.21V).[102] Elsewhere in the play, the protagonist Ordoñez de Ceballos, mentions almost in passing his encounter with cannibals while he was 'pacificando a los Indios / que nos quisieron comer' (1629: fol.20R). Previous to this he has assumed that his *gracioso* servant, Marcos, will automatically already have met this very fate if captured by the Indians : 'Pues ya en su carniceria / lo avràn deshecho y comido' (1629: fol.18R). But Ordoñez has slightly anticipated events, for Marcos now reappears on stage in ludicrous fashion:

Salen Indios con vn bayle, sacan a Marcos desnudo en vn assador.

Cant(an):
Zãbala q̃ comida tenemos,
çambala que comiga (sic) tendra
guayamba
guayamba,
vn gordo Christiano
de lindo color,
todo hecha manteca
todo hecho vn turron,
en el assador
para assar está
çambala que comida tenemos
guayamba que comida tẽdra

(Remón 1629: fol.22R)

Once again the festival associations are unmistakable, with the singing, chanting, and promised banquet, and the Indians are inevitably thwarted at the last moment by a Spanish attack. The comic tension is acute in this instance because the staging of this episode calls for a special effect suggesting fire, or at least smoke, to be visible on stage rather than reported as occurring offstage (as in the scene featuring Galván and Truxillo). This allows the enactment of cannibalism to be taken almost to the brink, as Marcos screams in terror at being roasted, and then is released in time for a

---

[102] There are also significant sexual overtones to this episode in her interaction with the cannibal, Caloco. Seen in her guise as a man only as potential food, as a woman he has threatened her with a rather different fate, as doña Juana bewails: 'Caloco / dixo, que si muger fuera / me adorara, y me quisiera, / lo dixe, y le bolvi loco' (1629: fol.21V). She is thus caught between two rather unappetising prospects, the link between the two elements being unusually explicit.

predictable porcine reference: 'Marcos soy, y medio assado / como lechon tengo cueros' (1629: fol.22V).

This multiple humiliation of Marcos - his tying to a spit; his nakedness; his corpulence; the actual initiation of the roasting - while risible, remains innocuous in tone, and still falls some way short of his utter degradation. Once again a perceived attribute of the Indians (this time as hoarders of gold) provides the vehicle for this. Immediately in the wake of his release and the rout of the Indian forces, Marcos has been searching for loot among their huts. But his avarice is castigated in visually extreme terms. In an incident reminiscent of the *escena entremesil* between Castillo and Guaica, referred to in a previous chapter (in which Castillo emerges all blackened from his search for gold in the well as the 'diablo mondapozos'), so Marcos emerges with a dubious reward for his pains, and addresses the audience with a lament:

Sale Marcos todo tiznado, saque vnos pedaços de calabaça teñida de amarillo, y de risa

Quien nacio por pobre, que porfia?
.....
Medio quebrada una costilla mía,
con mil palos a cuestas, quando menos,
Y estos pedaços mates o melenos,
Do meava vna India que alli avia.
Esto es oro? ha pesarles de vn servicio
Hecho de calabaça, que desmayo:
ya tomaramos fuera alquimia, o cobre
Llamarame don Marcos, tendre oficio:
No me sacarà el diablo de lacayo!
In seculorum secula soy pobre.

Vase

(Remón 1629: fol.24R-24V)

This descent into grotesquerie has retained the wherewithal of carnival humour - the gross humour of urination and defecation - but has lost its appeal to regeneration and renewal. Marcos's humour is no longer that of the marketplace, there is no momentary inversion or erasure of the status quo, only a reaffirmation of his baseness

and poverty - forever sealed. Marcos, the would-be Latin scholar (complete with echoes of medieval parodies of the liturgy) is tied into a kind of grotesque realism which feeds on the individual for purposes of ridicule. Rather than laughter there is the derision of satire and lampoon which supplants the shared and inclusive humour of carnival. In this instance it is the castigation of pretentiousness, the humiliation of the would-be *perulero* who seeks to overreach himself via booty, the aspiring scholar whose affected Latin is now deployed against himself. This is, in sum, humour of a much more mature and much less reassuring kind, as Bakhtin describes it

> Unlike the medieval and Renaissance grotesque, which was directly related to folk culture and thus belonged to all the people, the Romantic genre acquired a private "chamber" character. It became, as it were, an individual carnival, marked by a vivid sense of isolation. The carnival spirit was transposed into a subjective, idealistic philosophy. It ceased to be the concrete (one might say bodily) experience of the one inexhaustible being, as it was in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.
>
> (1984: 37)

This trend reaches its apogee in the trope of dismemberment. Already mentioned in the first part of this chapter as a platform for cathartic horror, there is, throughout the corpus, a serious as well as comic insistence on the mutilation of the body; the severing of limbs, feet, hands, arms and appendages such as noses and ears. But even in comic mode the dramatic power of dismemberment is not constrained by the burlesque, or the grotesqueries of carnival; a comic catharsis can be shown to emerge. Here I discuss this process and supply examples of the mechanism by which popular laughter is compromised, and takes on a much darker hue - as if to act as a precursor of the sardonic, nihilistic humour which Bakhtin perceives as characterising the dawn of Romanticism.

A passing, comic reference to dismemberment occurs in the scene from *Fray Luis Bertán* quoted above in which Lautaro threatens to chop up fray Pedro and preserve him in salt, but its impact is diminished by the affirmative humour of the

scene as a whole. For an example of the cold sarcasm identified above, one may point to *La sentencia sin firma*, in which the *miles gloriosus*, Montejo, brags to Cortés of his capacity for mass-slaughter and makes two unique references. The first is to the infamous practice of hunting down Indians with dogs (zealously denied):

> Que en tres horas solamente
> eres testigo, que he muerto
> cien Indios, y el mas valiente
> Cacique, que me dio concierto
> al animo desta gente.
> Y porque el campo dezia,
> que vn perro que yo tenia
> me ayudaua, le matè,
> y el numero duplique,
> sin su rabia, y con la mia
> (Ávila 1652: fol.132V)

The second is to the habit of flaying their corpses: 'los pellejos que cortè, / en los Indios que matè, / pudieran vestir à España'(1652: fol.134V). It is significant that the only references in the corpus to such nefarious practices are delivered in strictly controlled conditions insofar as they are rendered absurd on the lips of a braggart *gracioso*. This convention serves to insulate his superiors from contamination by association. The space accorded to the *gracioso* to lampoon himself or his own unsavoury physical attributes also gives him the freedom to utter the unspeakable.[103]

What begins as comedy, however, can end in the deepest cynicism, as a series of examples from *El gobernador prudente* amply demonstrates. In this play Don

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[103] For example, we see momentarily how even Cortés's heroics take on a burlesque quality on the lips of the *gracioso* when he recalls

> el día que se cosiò
> el pecho; y que tras de vn mes
> de enfermedad, peleò
> el mismo dia que andaua
> de purga; y tan lleno estaua
> de la sangre que vertia,
> que parece que traia
> la que a todos les faltaua.
> (Ávila 1652: fol.134V)

See also, on the subject of the latitude accorded to the *graciosos* in another New World play (*La aurora en Copacabana*), the article by Flasche (1985-6).

García's clown Bocafría is clearly afflicted by syphilitic mouth sores. Despite their repulsive aspect he is enamoured of an Indian woman, Guacolda (who is soon to be baptised as María). Unfortunately, Bocafría has brutally mutilated her husband Lautaro by cutting off his hands. This combination of horror-humour culminates in a grisly sequence of sarcastic wit by the *gracioso*: in reply to his master's epigram 'se curar los vivos' Bocafría asks him to decree that 'en este hospital, señor, / se cure de lamparones' (Ávila 1917: 56). This is a disease he absurdly claims to have picked up from a cat; 'fué tanto el porfiar / del gaticinio estregar, / ... / que me dejó la garganta / con más bocas que un vivar (1917: 56).[104] In the ritual round of marriages which closes the play, the object of Bocafría's affections is still Guacolda, whose favour he cheerfully hopes to win without her 'reparando ... en estos lamproncitos' (1917: 104). Unusually for the ranking personage, don García equivocates and then declines to give him her hand in marriage: 'toda la dificultad / consiste en su voluntad' (1917: 104), he declares - an amazing deference to the possible whim of a native female, but contextualised by her subsequently expressed desire to enter a nunnery. This snub provokes an ouraged Bocafría to bid grimly for her with quantities of those bodily appendages mutilated by the Spaniards, and provides him with a platform to pun outrageously on the idiom of "giving one's hand" in marriage. Referring to Guacolda he says:

> La mano que a Lautaro dió,
> porque dice que le vió
> defender los araucanos:
> si yo les corto las manos,
> mejores las tengo yo.
> Y aunque sean infelices
> las mías, como autorices

---

[104] This scatalogical reference appears to be a conflation of scrofula and syphilis, as Bocafría's next remark, a seeming *non-sequitur*, has it that the absence of the King of France in the New World leaves him stranded 'sin remedio' (1917: 56). Scrofula was known as the 'King's Evil' in England from the belief that the only cure for it was to be touched by the monarch. Syphilis was known in Spanish as the 'mal francés'. Both ailments shared sores within the mouth as a symptom.

mi persona, y me dé el sí,
le traeré de Arauco aquí
diez arrobas de narices

Don García: De lo que puedes te alejas mucho.

Bocafría: Pues no son consejas:
porque me dé el sí y la mano
traeré del valle del araucano
once barriles de orejas
(1917: 104)

This kind of gross intervention serves a purpose; to define the dramatic territory that the *gracioso* occupies - that of the bodily orifices and the lower stratum - and so to insulate the virtuous protagonist from association with the crude and impious mode of expression which his comic *doppelgänger* might use. The scene at the end of the play also clearly signals the separation of domains - Christian authority and virtue versus comic carnality and sadism. Moreover, it ties together a grotesque comic mode of self-derision with an altogether darker, sardonic wit which does not shrink from basking in the atrocities of battle. Earlier in the play, Bocafría has taken the stage carrying his sword and the two severed hands he has cut from Lautaro. In this instance the horror and the humour feed off each other to achieve a depth of cynicism and sarcasm which bespeaks empathy and universal laughter and takes grotesque realism into a different realm of sarcasm and nihilism. With don García the "straight man" feeding questions about the mutilation, Bocafría embarks on a series of vindictive observations which exceed any other instance in the corpus:

Don García: ¿Quedó vivo?
Bocafría: Señor sí:
pero no por mejor fué.
Un primo mío, mató
en el encuentro pasado
Cuando Valdivia murió
y no quedará vengado,
matándole ahora yo:
cada día ha menester
que otro le dé de comer
y no hay más terrible pena,
que comer por mano ajena,

siendo forzoso el comer.
Haga manos de los codos
que aunque busque menos modos,
siempre se verá morir
el que ya para vivir
los ha menester a todos.
Y demas de carecer
de lo dulce de rascar,
vil desdicha vendrá a ser,
si está desnudo esperar
que le vista su mujer;
que es posible el no gruñir,
aún las que tienen amor
están más diestras, señor,
en desnudar que en vestir.
(1917: 89-90)

The life-affirming medieval humour which dies in order to be reborn is thwarted in this dark speech: 'siempre se verá morir / el que ya para vivir / los ha menester a todos'. Bocafría touches on the quintessential elements for the humour of the marketplace before nullifying them in terms of the impossibility of eating, the inability to scratch parasites, the inability to dress oneself and the sexual humiliation of having a wife too adept at undressing – that is, mutilation as the signifier of impotence.

The various instances quoted above show the shift which takes place from the universality of carnival humour to the employment of grotesque realism in a much narrower and more limited way. Taboo topics such as cannibalism (unstageable in practical terms), and punitive violence (reported and then mimicked by special effects) can be broached by the distancing effect of crude humour assigned to the role of the *gracioso*. But Bocafría's diatribe on the effects of his mutilation of Lautaro embraces nothing but its own sadism and signals a radical departure from the concept of grotesque realism as originally envisaged in its playful medieval form. This corresponds to the trajectory which Bakhtin assigns to the decay of folk humour and reflects his analysis of modern manifestations of verbal abuse and scatalogical

cursing, which, he asserts

> have retained dead and purely negative remnants of the grotesque concept of the body [...] Unprintable expressions degrade the object according to the grotesque method: they send it down to the absolute bodily lower stratum, to the zone of the genital organs, the bodily grave, in order to be destroyed. But almost nothing has remained of the ambivalent meaning whereby they would also be revived: only the bare cynicism and insult have survived.
>
> (1984: 28)

The mockery of Lautaro by Bocafría stands at a considerable distance in dramatic terms from the lament of the *caciques* in the *Auto de las cortes de la muerte* – a gap that extends beyond the distance which separates "serious" and "comic" drama, and from which all vestige of sympathy has been excised. But this does not yet amount to the final degradation of the Indian as an individual character on stage. Two further scenes achieve this in diffent ways.

The first of these is an extended carnivalesque pun on the the death of Caupolicán from *Los españoles en Chile*, involving his capture just prior to the execution. In a battle, Caupolicán is cornered by Spanish soldiers. The cowardly *gracioso* Mosquete watches the ensuing skirmish from a safe distance:

> Vaya vsted con mil demonios.
> Ya se çurran, ya se cascan,
> mas casquense enorabuena,
> que yo detràs destas ramas
> he de mirar esta fiesta

Escondese, y salen tres Epañoles retirando a Caupolicán, que viene herido en la cara con mucha sangre.

Caupolicán: Ha fementida canalla,
de aquesta suerte vereis,
mas la sangre que me falta
me quita las fuerças

Sol[dado] 1: Perro,
rindete al punto.
.....

Atanle

Soldado 2: El galgo vaya

a donde luego le pongan
en vn palo.

Mosquete: Santas Pascuas, esso pido

.....

Lleuãle

Mosquete: Este perro, por lo menos,
ya lleua en la cola maça

(González de Bustos 1665: fol.22V)

González de Bustos's treatment of this defining incident in the folklore of the Conquest almost completes the circle which this section is attempting to draw. Mosquete's final observation is a very witty conceit on that staple, if rather unpleasant, practice of tormenting animals which is part of Spanish festive tradition. One variation is to attach objects to their tails (or in the case of cattle, their horns) sticks, fireworks, tapers etc. Here the "dog" (a dead metaphor for the Indian) has a club tied to his tail, or as Mosquete jeers, he will soon be sitting on a stake impaled. The carnival reference, the anatomical joke and the cynicism it represents, show in striking terms the decay of grotesque realism from its zenith as a regenerating force.

One final example shows its true apogee. Calderón's *La aurora en Copacabana* was rehashed in the eighteenth century (apparently) by a certain Peynado under the title *Pizarro en Copacabana en en su India triunfante España.* The third act, however, dispenses with the original, and substitutes a resolution which involves a very unusual incident in which the Indians teacherously plan to dig under a garden and blow up Spaniards gathered there. The plan is of course thwarted and it is the Indians who suffer the terrible consequences, as this stage-direction makes clear:

> *Entrase Inga con la mitad de los Indios quedando la otra mitad repartidos por el tablado: a los dos versos siguientes que dice Pizarro dentro se oira debajo del tablado vn grande estallido como de bolar vna mina, cuyos efectos seran salir llamas por bajo, y entre bastidores: desaparecer por el ayre en buelo los Indios que quedaron en el tablado: caer en pedazos fuente, estatuas, y tiestos cayendo al propio tiempo de arriba varios pedazos de Indios estafermos como son los que bolò la mina.*

(Peynado n.d.: fol.287R-287V)

The sardonic reaction reaction of the *gracioso*, Fusil, is commensurate with this preposterous stage-direction:

> Pobres Indios! que destrozos
> hizo en vosotros el fuego:
> aqui hay brazos, aqui hay piernas
> cabezas, manos, y cuerpos
> los tira a dentro
> vayan acia aquel rincón
> y luego los quemaremos
> que estas gentes gustan mucho
> de que los tuesten los huesos
>
> *Vase*
>
> (n.d.: fol. 288V)

Time appears to have robbed the stage-Indians here of even the dubious dignity of acting as foil for the comic eccentricities of their Spanish counterparts. This is the atomization of the body (reduced to the debris which falls from the roof with it) - the collation of mutilation and cannibalism in a single trenchant joke of extraordinary detachment and cynicism. This is Bakhtin's 'individual carnival, marked by a vivid sense of isolation'. The process having initiated the around the time of Don Quijote, as the eighteenth century dawns we have confirmation of Bakhtins's thesis:

> the most important transformation of the Romantic grotesque was that of the principle of laughter. This element of course remained, since no grotesque, even the most timid, is conceivable in the atmosphere of absolute seriousness. But the laughter was cut down to cold humour, irony, sarcasm. It ceased to be a joyful and triumphant hilarity. Its positive and regenerating power was reduced to a minimum.
>
> (1984: 7-8)

* * *

In this chapter I have explored the multiple use of the trope of violence as a

tool in colonial discourse. Playwrights' use of horror and bloodshed in the corpus is consistent with its use in the *comedia* as a whole, and appears to be evenly distributed between stereotypically savage Indians and their conquerors. But such a distribution is misleading: the blood-lust of the Indians is never attenuated, whereas the Indians' protests against the excesses of the Spaniards are tainted by satanic associations. In addition, the violence of the Spaniards is repeatedly purged by series of ingenious rationalisations. These consist of allusions to the savagery of Indian provocation; the baptised status of Spanish victims; the onerous violence inherent in statecraft and warfare; and the expedient device of apportioning blame to corrupt, aberrant elements among the invading forces. Authors thus constrain the audience to judge Spanish violence, ultimately, in terms of the pious Conquistador-protagonists, who succumb to its use only for the greater (hegemonic) good.

Completely unique to the corpus is the comic/horrific trope of cannibalism. Gruesome in reportage only, it is adeptly employed as humorous relief when depicted on stage. This is accompanied by the similar manipulation of the topic of mutilation, which oscillates between grim horror on stage, and a consistent source of bitter amusement. Although the comic treatment of cannibalism and mutilation are heavily indebted to the grotesque realism of medieval carnival humour, they cannot escape its degradation into nihilism – a process well under way in the seventeenth century. The joyous renewal and regeneration apparent in carnival is supplanted in the New World plays by the representation of the Indians as mere vehicles for the scabrous jokes and the cynicism of the *gracioso.* There are scenes in which the mutilation of the Indians' noses, ears and hands (or even their total annihilation on stage) are the subject of the darkest humour. Such scenes are a powerful antidote to an idealisation of how the natives are represented in the corpus, or an anachronistic vision of the plays as a

platform for their grievances.

Conclusion

In this thesis I have shown the representation of American Indians in the *comedia* to be very much a vehicle for self-inscription by the society which has developed the medium. In this, it adheres to patterns established in thousands of other *comedias* produced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Although conformist in their inscription, the New World plays contain highly unusual features and are capable, under the aegis of Lope de Vega, of vigorously interrogating the actions (if not the values) of that society.

The Indians, as seen on stage, are a close reflection of their counterparts in pageants, processions, royal entries and other festivities, whose appearance responds rather to the requirements of pantomime and fancy-dress than to that of ethnographical accuracy. None of the plays tells us anything about the realities of Indian existence. They do not provide us, as Carey-Webb puts it, with a transparent "truth" about the native peoples. Nor are the various Indian nations differentiated one from another, with one important exception: the Araucanians of Chile are exalted as the most fearsome and durable opponents. This perception is fostered entirely for the purposes of subsequently defining the heroism and fortitude of their Spanish pacifiers and to equate their achievement with more prestigious exploits in the Old World.

The representation of the Indian is also particularly susceptible to the influence of the traditional allegorical personification, derived both from the *auto sacramental* and the iconography of monumental triumphalism, and this element is crucial to their "multiple constitution" as defined by Smith in the introduction to this

study. Many Indian characters operate in neo-allegorical or emblematic mode, as dictated at different points in the action of the plays, during which dramatists may actively seek to confer iconic status upon them.

Playwrights have the Indians operate within these constraints in the pursuit of one overriding objective: the justification of the Spanish conquest and evangelisation of the New World. This represents the total assimilation of the natives on a spiritual and secular level with their consent – in other words, the fantasy of hegemony. As in Carey-Webb's prescriptive analysis, the corpus as a whole reflects the disavowal of difference between the Indians as a "subject nation", and the Spaniards as a colonial administration. It is this likeness which establishes the grounds for claims against empire and its "excesses", and for such claims to be *in* and *on* Spanish terms.

The stage-Indian's function in this disavowal is to provide a platform for the inscription of the Spanish response to the vicissitudes of conquest. They have the capacity to interrogate Spanish conduct within strictly defined parameters. Thus the Spaniards are justified in reacting to the Indians' violent rebellion. Aberrant Spaniards, on the other hand, betray the evangelical/paternal ideal incarnated by the heroes of the Conquest: Columbus, Cortés and García Hurtado de Mendoza. As a result, Spain's conduct in the New World is interrogated but never its presence, and criticism of Spanish violence is neutralised and contained.

The justification for this presence is predicated upon one premise above all others: the dominion of Satan in the New World, and his deception of the Indians. The corollary of this knowledge is that the Indians, like their masters, risk the loss of their immortal soul – the ultimate denial of difference. The redemption of Indian souls, accordingly, is the ultimate crierion in the gauging of the conduct of their masters. The incidence of appearances by the Devil in the corpus is overwhelming,

and the entire typology of Indian behaviour on stage is determined by it. He alone is responsible for their idolatry and the foul rituals such as cannibalism, blood-drinking, and human sacrifice which accompany it, and which are so often referred to in the plays.

These and other Indian vices, such as violence and predatory female sexuality, although strongly associated with lurid iconography, the *mujer varonil* of the *comedia* and medieval associations with the Wild Men and Women of Europe, are ultimately treated in accordance with the arch-deceit of idolatry, and Spanish conduct - for good or bad - is inevitably a response to it. Unquestioning belief in the satanism of the Indians clearly underpins the sixteenth-century ideology so manifest in plays written in the seventeenth century.

Given the scant number of works in the corpus, dramatists are remarkably confident in their approach to issues of conquest when they do turn their hand to it. Even if one includes the variable treatment of the execution of Caupolicán, there is no evidence to suggest that they consciously adapt the contents of the plays in response to the Black Legend, and the representation of abuses and violence against the Indians is comprehensively engaged across the corpus, but within the strict parameters just described. They are also confident enough of the typology of the stage-Indian not to hesitate in discarding its most ingrained precepts if the action so dictates. For example, the promiscuity of Indian women (depicted as a given in the plays) is substituted by the outraged Christian virtue of Spanish ladies in *La lealtad contra la envidia* and *El gobernador prudente* when the *topos* is an exposé of aberrant Spanish lust.

Anomalies such as these are persuasive of the conception of the stage-Indian as a rhetorical construct. Like Smith's Peribáñez, the undecidability of the status of

this construct is the key to the alternation between "serious" drama and "burlesque" humour in the corpus. This permits the *topoi* of violence, mutilation and cannibalism to be addressed from opposite ends of the same hegemonic continuum. In moments of black comedy, the Indian persona is subordinated to the rhetorical requirement of genre/mode. Thus within the confines of a comic sketch in *Los españoles en Chile*, the erstwhile heroic figure of Caupolicán is treated in terms of a *perro* to be baited at carnival. The action of the play has moved into *gracioso* mode. The function of the Indian figure therefore is to collude in the momentary objective (in this case the humorous neutralisation of Spanish violence). And just as Spanish corruption in "serious" mode is attributable only to the lower ranks, so the grisly *topoi* of mutilation, defecation, infestation and so on, are cauterised by their assignation to the domain of the *gracioso* - the carnival *roi de rire*.

This is also the destination of scenes of burlesque cannibal preparation. The horrors which are so graphically described in reportage are now notable by their absence. The satanism of the impending ritual is never mentioned and the sin of the Indians is remarkably mitigated in these scenes. The Indians are alone in the *comedia* in that they practise cannibalism, and the scenes we have of its burlesque enactment are unique to the New World plays.

Humour paradoxically provides for the stage-Indians' lowest ebb also. There is a bleak cynicism in the function of mutilation and dismemberment as a *gracioso* topic, which acts as a caution in attempting to discern too sympathetic an approach on the part of playwrights, whose allegiances are more detectable in the contents of any play's *desenlace*. Hegemonic closure is their aspiration, and Indian characterisation is always subordinated to this. Indians in the New World plays can only speak words

that Spanish poets place in their mouths, and as such represent not 'la voz de los vencidos' (Ruiz Ramón 1992:1), but the voice of the victors.

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